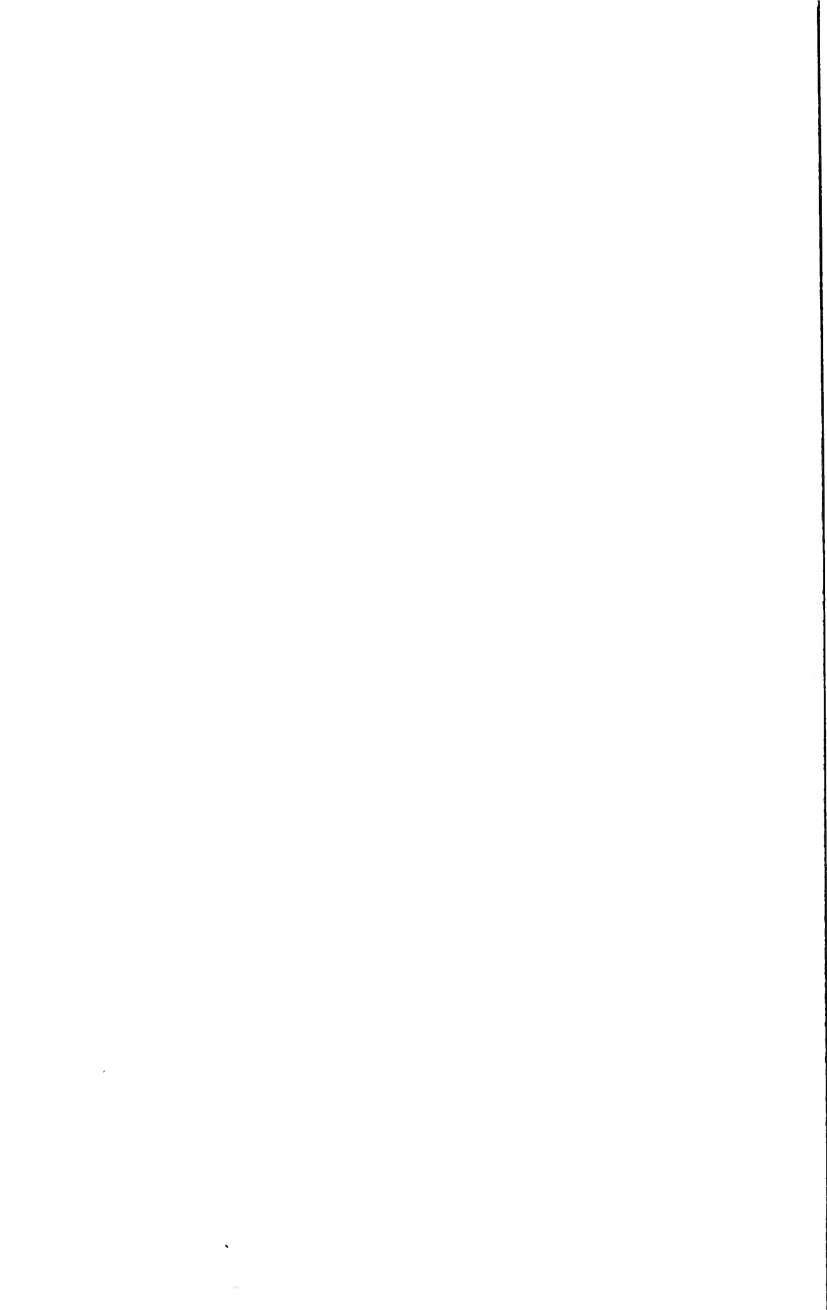


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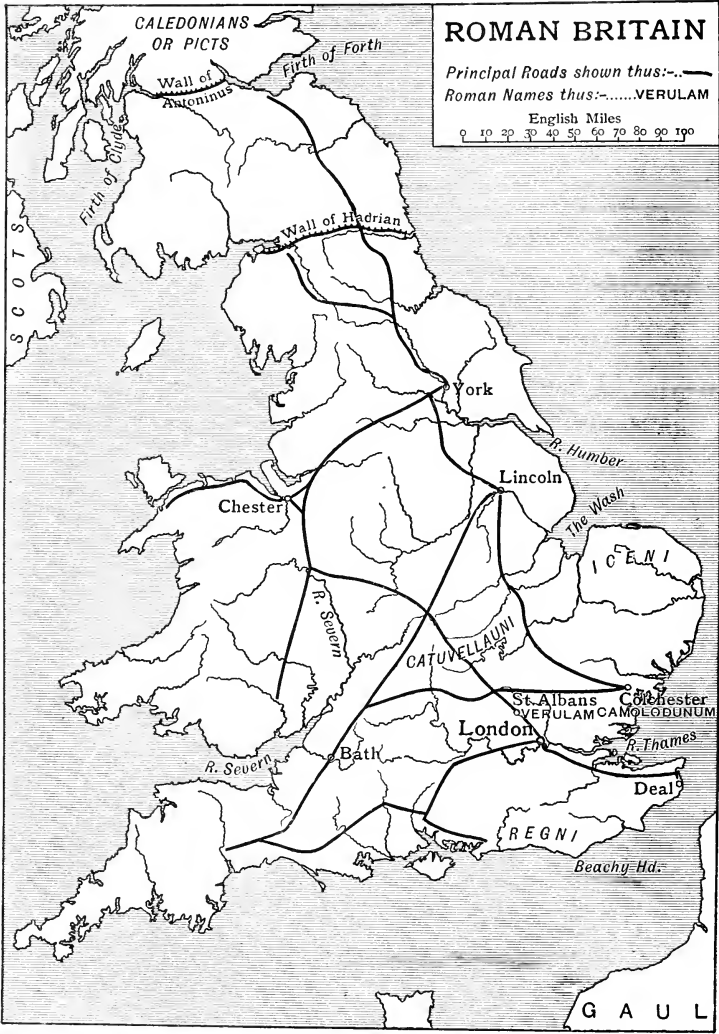
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HISTORY OF ENGLAND



ROMAN BRITAIN

Principal Roads shown thus:—**—**
 Roman Names thus:—.....**VERULAM**

English Miles

0 10 20 30 40 50 60 70 80 90 100

CALEDONIANS
OR PICTS

Wall of
Antoninus

Firth of Forth

Firth of Clyde

SCOTLAND

Wall of Hadrian

York

R. Humber

Lincoln

Chester

The Wash

ICENI

R. Severn

CATUVELLAUNI

St. Albans

Colchester

London

VERULAM CAMOLOBUNUM

R. Severn

Bath

R. Thames

Deal

REGNI

Beachy Hd.

GAUL

CHAPTER I.

THE ROMANS IN BRITAIN (B.C. 55—A.D. 410).

1. The Invasion of Julius Cæsar (B.C. 55).—It was not until the first century of the Christian era that Britain was brought definitely into contact with the beneficent and civilising influence of Rome, and that it became possible for the reign of law, which everywhere followed the Imperial standards, to extend its sway over the restless and disorganised tribes which occupied our island. Before, however, Britain definitely became a Roman colony, Rome made more than one effort to gain a footing. It was Rome's greatest general and statesman, Julius Cæsar, who first led the Roman legions across the Channel, and thus strikingly brought before the minds of his compatriots the possibility of opening to Latin civilisation a country so little known that it appeared to them in the light of a new world.

The Celts, who at the time of Cæsar's invasion occupied Britain, were a portion of one of the great waves of Aryan tribes, which before the dawn of history had begun to spread over Europe. After conquering the Iberian peoples inhabiting the west of the Continent, the Celts appear to have carried their migration across the Channel about the year 500 B.C., reaching their new island home in two great divisions, the Goidels or Gaels, and the Brythons or Britons. The Goidels, the first to arrive, were gradually pressed west and north by their Brythonic kinsmen, until they occupied the western portion of our island and the opposing coast district of Ireland. The Brythons settled in the more fertile districts of the centre and

east, and spread over the greater part of the Lowlands of Scotland. In the Highlands of Scotland and in Ireland the pre-Celtic race, the Iberians, maintained their independence, but in the more hilly parts of Britain they were absorbed or reduced to serfdom by the Goidels. The Brythons remained comparatively free from any intermingling with the older race.

. During the three years preceding the invasion of Britain, Julius Cæsar had been engaged in the conquest of Gaul, and in repelling the attacks of the German tribes from the other side of the Rhine. The subjugation of the Celts of Gaul drew him on to attack the Britons, who had rendered help to their kinsmen over the sea. Cæsar, therefore, in the summer of 55 B.C. crossed the Channel with an army of 10,000 men. A landing was effected where Deal now stands, but the destruction of part of his fleet by a storm, and the sturdy resistance offered by the Britons, compelled him to withdraw to Gaul after spending three weeks in Britain.

In the following year, B.C. 54, Cæsar returned to the attack with a much larger force. He was met by a harassing guerilla warfare on the part of the southern British tribes, who acknowledged the leadership of Cassivelaunus, chieftain of the Catuvellauni. But the steady discipline of the Roman troops naturally prevailed wherever the Britons could be brought to an open encounter, and Cassivelaunus, deserted by his allies south of the Thames, retreated to his stronghold near the modern St. Albans. Cæsar, therefore, leaving a force to guard the fleet, struck north, crossed the Thames, and captured the British entrenchment. This was followed by the submission of Cassivelaunus, who agreed to pay a tribute, and Cæsar was able to leave Britain, taking with him British hostages as pledges that the Britons would not again interfere in Gaul.

2. From the Invasion of Aulus Plautius to the Recall of Agricola (43–84 A.D).—For ninety-seven years Britain remained unmolested by Rome. During the civil wars which distracted the Roman Republic after the assassination of Julius Cæsar, the Romans were too much absorbed by domestic troubles to aim at foreign conquests. The Roman

state emerged from the struggles transformed into an Empire under the great-nephew of Julius Cæsar. The new ruler, Caius Octavius Augustus, set his face against all projects of expansion, and his immediate successors followed his views. It was not till the reign of Claudius, the fourth Emperor, that the attempt at conquest was renewed. In 43 A.D. Aulus Plautius was sent to attack Caractacus and Togidumnus, the descendants of Cassivelaunus. By winning over the Regni of the south and the Iceni of the east the Romans were able to conquer the Catuvellauni. Togidumnus was slain, and Caractacus fled to South Wales. The Emperor Claudius himself visited Britain and received the submission of the British at Camolodunum, the modern Colchester. Under Ostorius Scapula, the successor of Aulus Plautius, the conquered tribes were gradually welded into a Roman province south of a line drawn from the Severn to the Wash, but the attempt to extend the Roman rule to South Wales failed. Ostorius had to content himself with building a line of forts along the mountainous frontiers of Wales, and died shortly after, worn out by the struggle.

The revolt of the Iceni, 61 A.D., under their queen Boadicea, showed that the Roman rule was not yet firmly established. The oppressive government of Suetonius Paulinus, and the outrages on Boadicea and her daughters, goaded the Britons into revolt. The Roman colony of Camolodunum was put to the sword, a Roman legion was cut to pieces, and the massacre of 70,000 Romans bore testimony to the British hatred of the Roman domination. The vengeance was on an equally appalling scale, and 80,000 Britons died on the battle-field before the insurrection was stamped out. Rome, however, had learnt a lesson. Suetonius was recalled, and henceforward conciliatory methods were adopted.

The task of consolidating the Roman rule in Britain was completed by Julius Agricola. The conquest of Wales was followed by that of the north up to the district between the Firths of Forth and Clyde. A line of forts was built to guard this frontier, while Agricola penetrated further north, and broke down the resistance of the Caledonians, a mingled Gaelic and

Iberian people. When Agricola was recalled to Rome in 84 A.D., the limits of Roman Britain had been fixed, and his successors, freed from military enterprises, could devote themselves to the internal organisation of the province.

3. The Roman Province of Britain.—Although Britain was never so completely Romanised as Gaul or Spain, it was organised on the familiar Roman plan. The country, after several experiments, was placed under one ruler, the Vicarius Britanniarum, who was subject to the Prefect of Gaul. Under the Vicarius there were five subordinates, each ruling over one district. Besides these civil rulers there were three high military officials entrusted with the defence of the province. Towns were built in large numbers, and their splendour is proved by the remains at London, York, Bath, and Chester. Assuming that the municipal arrangements were the same as in Gaul, we may picture the towns as governed by a Senate originally elected, but ultimately hereditary. The great Roman towns were linked by a splendid network of Roman roads. The mineral wealth of the country was worked, forests were cleared, and magnificent villas were built. A writer of the third century speaks of the flourishing condition of the country. He describes its high state of civilisation, and extols its wealth in minerals, and in flocks and herds. The production of corn was very great, and Rome could use Britain as a granary from which to draw supplies for the needs of other provinces.

CHIEF EVENTS.

Cæsar's invasions	B.C. 55 and 54.
Aulus Plautius sent	A.D. 43.
Revolt of the Iceni	A.D. 61.
Rule of Agricola	A.D. 78-84.

CHAPTER II.

THE ANGLO-SAXON CONQUEST (449-613).

1. The Roman Empire and the German Races.—In the second century of the Christian era the Roman Empire stretched from the Euphrates to the Atlantic, and from the deserts of North Africa to the Highlands of Scotland. Under the Cæsars, who ruled from 69 A.D. to 180 A.D., the Empire reached a pitch of prosperity never surpassed. Everywhere, as in Britain, tribal antagonisms tended to disappear before the Pax Romana. The Imperial Government was efficient without being oppressive. Large freedom of action was left to the provincial Governments, and by these in their turn to the Civitates, or units of local administration. The tendency was to extend the privilege of Roman citizenship to increasing masses of free-born subjects of the Empire. Political distinctions were based on wealth rather than on birth, and the plebeian from the provinces could rise to high office.

But in the third century the Empire degenerated. A series of disputed successions convulsed the provinces. The armies on the frontiers set up their own candidates. In seventy-three years twenty-three emperors ruled, and of these twenty-one met a violent death. The provinces were raided by the Barbarians. The splendid machinery of government went near to breaking down, and as a consequence the Roman Peace vanished. The Empire was rescued from destruction by the reforms of Diocletian and Constantine the Great, and the Government regained its efficiency, but at the expense of the liberties of its subjects. A vast official system was created which drained the life-blood of the Empire. The cost of

maintaining the machinery of government was thrown upon the owners of land, and the smaller proprietors, to escape the burden, placed themselves in dependence on their richer neighbours. Society became divided into castes, and in consequence the position of every subject was determined by the stratum of society in which he was born. Such a system necessarily destroys individual enterprise, and reduces loyalty to the level of a passive and unintelligent obedience.

Meanwhile across the borders of the Empire there was encamped a race of conquerors destined to bring fresh life to Western Europe. The Germans, another of the Aryan races, had moved westward until checked by the sea to the north, and by Roman arms on the south and west. They occupied Scandinavia, together with Central Europe east of the Rhine and north of the Danube. For many years they contented themselves with plundering raids into the rich southern lands. Many, also, of the German tribes were admitted into the service of the Roman Empire, and German soldiers guarded the frontiers from the attacks of their own kinsmen. The Roman army itself was thus largely composed of Germans. But gradually the pacific invasion tended to become a conquest, and one by one the Roman provinces fell into the hands of the barbarians. Thus Italy was conquered first by the Visigoths, then by the Ostrogoths; Spain by the Vandals, then by the Visigoths; Gaul by the Visigoths, Burgundians, and Franks.

The Roman province of Britain shared in the disasters of the rest of the Empire. From early times the Britons had been harassed by the Caledonians, or Picts, as they were now called, from beyond the wall of Antoninus, while the Scots, a race of marauding adventurers from the north of Ireland, raided the western coasts. To these were added in the third century a new enemy, the Saxons, who infested the eastern and southern shores of Britain with such serious results that a special officer, the Count of the Saxon Shore, had been appointed to guard the coast from the Humber to Beachy Head. From time to time Rome made efforts to defend

Britain against the triple attack, but the increasing pressure on the heart of the Empire caused the withdrawal of legion after legion. On the death of the Emperor Theodosius (395) the Roman Empire had definitely fallen into two great divisions, East and West, each under its own ruler. The first of the Western emperors, Honorius, showed himself incompetent to defend Italy and Gaul against the Visigoths, and therefore could do nothing for an outlying province like Britain. In 410 the Roman legions were finally withdrawn, and the Britons were authorised by Honorius to provide for their own defence.

2. The Anglo-Saxon Invasion.—Three hundred and fifty years before the Anglo-Saxons undertook the conquest of Britain, the Roman historian, Tacitus, in his "Germania," gave an account of the institutions of the German races which may be taken probably as a fairly accurate description of the English in the fifth century. He describes the Germans as consisting of a number of tribes, proud of the purity of their blood, and having the same language, religion, and institutions. Some tribes had kings, who claimed divine descent, while others dispensed with royalty; but in either case the tribe was governed by the assembly of the freemen which met at fixed periods, and decided all questions of peace, war, alliance, the election of the king and other officials. Each tribe was divided into districts, or *pagi*, and these were subdivided into villages, or *vici*. The chieftain, or warrior-magistrate, administered justice in the *pagus* with the aid of a hundred assessors, and each *pagus* sent a hundred warriors to the host. Tacitus also mentions a fourfold division of rank—noble, free, freedmen, and slaves. His description of a German tribe is that of a community of free warriors, governing themselves, without knowledge of city life, continually at war with neighbouring tribes, and following a rudimentary agriculture just sufficient for their actual needs.

Of the three tribes, the Angles, Saxons, and Jutes, who conquered Britain, Tacitus only makes a vague reference to the first, but we know that in the second century the Saxons

occupied the district between the Elbe and Eider. To the north of them were the Angles, and beyond these the Jutes. The Saxons, an obscure tribe in the second century, gradually formed a powerful confederation of tribes who remained heathen and independent till conquered by Charlemagne late in the eighth century.

The traditional account of the Anglo-Saxon conquest of Britain is that it was brought about by the action of Vortigern, the ruler of south-eastern Britain, who in 449 hired two Jutish chieftains, Hengist and Horsa, to defend him from the attacks of the Picts and Scots. Hitherto the Germans had been kept at bay by the fortresses of the Saxon shore, but this line of defence was now opened to them, and the inevitable quarrel between Vortigern and his defenders led to the seizure of the Island of Thanet by Hengist and a struggle which ended in the conquest of Kent. Horsa is said to have been killed at the battle of Aylesford, but Hengist survived for fifteen years, and in 488 left Kent to his son and successor. Meanwhile, in 477, the kingdom of the South Saxons had been founded by Ella, who stormed Anderida (Pevensey), putting the inhabitants to the sword, and conquered the district from the sea to the forest, or Andreds-weald. This was followed in 495 by the foundation of the West Saxon kingdom under Cerdic. The invaders landed in Southampton Water, and after a long struggle firmly established themselves by a decisive victory at Charford.

The success of the Saxons seems to have stimulated further migrations from Germany, for, while Cerdic was conquering Hampshire, another band of Saxons had descended on the left bank of the Thames, and created the kingdom of the East Saxons. Concurrently with this, the Angles, deserting in a body their Continental home, landed in the district north of the East Saxons, and divided the conquered territory into the land of the North Folk and South Folk. The union of the two districts, Norfolk and Suffolk, formed the kingdom of East Anglia. The majority of the Angles, however, spread still further north, and built up two kingdoms. The northernmost, called Bernicia, stretched from the Forth to the Tees,

with its capital at Bamborough, while the southernmost, or Deira, was limited on the south by the Humber, and had York as its chief town.

The Anglo-Saxon Conquest had now been a hundred years in progress, but Central and Western Britain was still held by the Britons. A great British victory at Mount Badon in 520 had stopped for a time the southern Saxons. But a combination of different Anglian war-bands worked their way up the Trent and founded the March kingdom of Mercia, thus gaining access to Central Britain. This was followed by two great victories, which rendered the British cause hopeless. Hitherto the Celts had held the western part of the island from the Clyde to Cornwall. But in 577, Ceawlin, king of the West Saxons, defeated the Britons at Deorham in Gloucestershire, captured the lower Severn valley with the towns of Gloucester, Cirencester and Bath, and was only stopped in his progress northward by a defeat on the borders of Cheshire. The final blow was dealt by the Anglian Ethelfrith, who, after forming Deira and Bernicia into the kingdom of Northumbria, struck westward and overwhelmed the Britons at Chester (613). The Celts were now split into three divisions, Strathclyde, Wales, and Cornwall, separated by land held by their enemies.

3. The Character of the Conquest.—There can be no doubt that the Anglo-Saxon invasion involved the destruction of the greater part of the civilisation which had grown up under Roman rule. Probably much had disappeared during the anarchy which followed the withdrawal of the Roman legions. The Britons, torn by their suicidal struggles, worn out by pestilence and famine and by the attacks of the Picts and Scots, must have relapsed to some extent into barbarism. The wonder is that for one hundred and fifty years they were able to offer so sturdy a resistance to the Anglo-Saxons. The extent to which the Celtic population was destroyed is a matter of dispute: it is, on the whole, probable that the earlier conquests involved the extermination of the native population except where forest or hill fortresses rendered this impossible. But as the conquest progressed westward, the inhabitants were retained

as slaves, and in this way some aspects of the older civilisation were preserved. Such arts as survived would be connected mainly with agriculture, for abundant evidence proves the destruction of the great Roman cities. Chester, after the victory of Ethelfrith, was a ruin for three hundred years; London is lost sight of for over a century, during which it was probably deserted; and a similar fate befell York, Lincoln, and Verulam. Everywhere, in fact, the Anglo-Saxon element asserted itself as the dominant factor, forcing on the conquered British its language and institutions. Hence a marked contrast between the Anglo-Saxon conquest of Britain and the Frank conquest of Gaul, for in the latter case the Franks, while forming the ruling caste, accepted the religion and much of the civilisation of their Gallo-Roman subjects.

CHIEF EVENTS.

	A.D.
First German invasions	449-477, 495.
British victory of Mount Badon	520.
Battle of Deorham	577.
Battle of Chester	613.

CHAPTER III.

FROM THE CONVERSION OF ENGLAND TO THE SYNOD OF WHITBY (597-664).

1. The Church and the Barbarians.—The fifth century marked the greatest crisis in the history of the Catholic Church before the Reformation. Hitherto the Church had made her way through the world, facing persecution under the pagan Roman Empire, but in the end winning that Empire to Christ. Side by side with her progress towards victory, she had carried on an endless but successful struggle with the heresies which sprang up in denial of the central truths of her teaching with regard to the Person of her Divine Founder. But the inrush of the barbarians threatened her very existence in the fifth and sixth centuries. The majority of the conquering race had been converted to Arianism before they moved south into the Empire, and therefore, with their conquest of Italy, Gaul, Spain, and North Africa, it seemed that the Church would be crushed out of life by the heresy which struck directly at her Divine mission. The Church, however, again asserted herself triumphantly, and the religion of the vanquished Roman provincials slowly but surely took captive the victorious Visigoth, Burgundian, and Lombard. Before this had been effected, the conversion of Clovis, King of the Franks, not from heresy but from heathenism, gave to the Church and the Papacy the support of the most powerful of the German races, and rendered possible the spread of Christianity amongst the pagan Germans and Anglo-Saxons.

2. The Mission of St. Augustine.—In 590, Gregory, at that time abbot of the monastery on the Caelian hill at Rome,

was raised to the Papacy. Several years before he had been moved to compassion at the sight of some English youths exposed for sale as slaves, and had asked permission to go as a missionary to their heathen compatriots. This had proved impossible, but now as Pope he determined to organise the conversion of the English. He commissioned Augustine, prior of the Caelian monastery, as the leader of the missionary band. In April, 597, Augustine landed at Ebbsfleet in the Isle of Thanet, already memorable as the landing-place of Hengist. The path for the missionaries had already been opened by the marriage of Bertha, daughter of the Frankish king, Charibert of Paris, with Ethelbert, King of Kent. Through her influence Augustine was received in audience by Ethelbert, who gave to the missionaries the ruined church of St. Martin outside Canterbury, with permission to make converts. On the Feast of Pentecost, 597, Ethelbert himself was baptised, and his example was followed by a great number of his subjects. Augustine was now consecrated Bishop by the Archbishop of Arles, and chose Canterbury as the centre of his diocese. The ancient British church of St. Saviour was rebuilt as the cathedral church, and a monastery was built dedicated to the Apostles Peter and Paul. Gregory, on hearing of the success of Augustine, sent to him the pallium, as a recognition of his dignity as Metropolitan. The Pope also drew up regulations for the Anglo-Saxon Church. Looking on England as one nation, he ordered that there should be two archbishoprics, London and York, each with twelve suffragan bishoprics. The senior of the two archbishops was to have precedence over the other. The slowness of the conversion of the other English kingdoms frustrated this scheme, and Augustine was only able to establish sees at Rochester and London, while Canterbury remained the mother-see of the Anglo-Saxon Church.

3. Augustine and the British Church.—Gregory, in his letters to Augustine, had ordered him to enter into relation with the British Christians in the unconquered western and northern parts of the island, whom, with their bishops, the Pope

expressly placed under the authority of Augustine. During the long struggle with the Anglo-Saxons, the British Church, isolated from the rest of Western Christendom, had become disorganised. On two points of discipline—the calculation of the date of Easter, and certain forms connected with the rite of Baptism—British practice was defective. A conference was held between Augustine and the Welsh bishops, at which the latter were asked to give up their erroneous practices and join in preaching to the heathen Saxons. This was refused, and the Celtic Christians of Wales and Cornwall, unlike the Celts of Gaul, had no part in the conversion of their pagan conquerors. Their Church, once the parent of saints and martyrs, sank into insignificance.

4. The Conversion of Northumbria.—Augustine's rule in England was short, for he died in 604; but he had achieved the foundation of the Church in England, which for nearly a thousand years was to mould the national life and be the channel of Divine grace for the English people. In 616 the death of Ethelbert of Kent was followed by a heathen reaction, which put to the test the soundness of Augustine's work. Mellitus, Bishop of London, was driven from his see by Redwald, sub-king of East Anglia, and with Justus of Rochester took refuge in Gaul. In Kent itself King Eadbald, the son of Ethelbert, relapsed temporarily into heathenism. But the reaction did not last; for Eadbald returned to his allegiance, and the marriage of his daughter Ethelburga to Edwin, King of Northumbria, 625, gave a new opening for the spread of the Faith. With the princess went her chaplain Paulinus, and after a year's hesitation Edwin and the Northumbrian Witan submitted to the Church. For six years Paulinus, who had been consecrated bishop, laboured in the vast district from the Forth to the Humber. Meanwhile the conversion of the other kingdoms was being carried on; East Anglia was evangelised by the Burgundian monk Felix, and Wessex by the Italian Birinus, sent by Pope Honorius.

5. The Struggle with Heathen Mercia.—Paganism was not to succumb without finding a champion. Edwin of

Northumbria at the time of his conversion was acknowledged as overlord (Bretwalda) of all Britain, except Kent, but in 627 a coalition against him was formed between Penda, heathen king of Mercia, and Cadwallon, the Christian King of North Wales. Edwin was defeated and killed at Heathfield in 633, and Northumbria was overrun by the victors. Paulinus, taking with him Queen Ethelburga, took refuge in Kent, where he died. Meanwhile, the struggle against the hostile coalition was carried on by Oswald, younger son of the great Ethelfrith, who had been brought up by the Irish monks at St. Columba's monastery at Iona. Gathering a small band of followers, he attacked and killed Cadwallon at Heavenfield, near Hexham (635). For two years Oswald ruled over Northumbria, and to revive Christianity sent to Iona for help. Under the great saint Aidan, Lindisfarne, not far from the royal city Bamborough, became the centre of a powerful Christian revival, which spread throughout Northumbria, and was fostered by the piety of Oswald and the unwearied zeal of Aidan.

Oswald was, however, destined to fall like Edwin, for Penda, in 642, returned to the attack and killed his rival at Maserfield, probably in Shropshire. His brother Oswy, the last of the sons of Ethelfrith, maintained a precarious throne for thirteen years, till, in 655, he defeated Penda at Winweedfield. Mercia soon reasserted its independence under Wulfere, Penda's son, but the cause of heathenism was dead, and the Mercians, with their king, became Christians.

6. The Synod of Whitby (664).—All England, except Sussex, was now Christian, but for the moment English Christianity was threatened by the dangers of a schism. The missionaries from the Continent, who had converted the south and east, came into collision on points of discipline with the Irish evangelists of the north. To secure uniformity, Oswy summoned a conference of both parties to Whitby. The views of the northern missionaries were upheld by Colman, while the Roman discipline was maintained by James, the disciple of Paulinus, and the young Wilfrid, afterwards Bishop of York, who appealed to the universal practice of Catholic Christendom.

Oswy himself cut short the debate by declaring his adhesion to the institutions of St. Peter. "Are you both agreed," demanded Oswy of the disputants, "that the keys of heaven were given by the Lord to Peter?" Wilfrid and Colman answered, "Yes." "Then I will not decide against the door-keeper," Oswy declared, "lest when I come to the gates of heaven, he who holds the keys should not open to me." The decision was of supreme importance, even from the secular point of view, for it established through the Church the only unity which was as yet possible in England. A contrary decision would have perpetuated the divisions of the Heptarchy, and the English Church, like the Church in Ireland, would have sunk into dependence on petty local chieftains. As it was, the organising influence of Roman traditions and practice infused new vigour into Church and State. English Churchmen under the protection of the See of Peter went forth to the heathen Germans, and it was the great Englishman, Winfrith, better known as St. Boniface, a native of Devonshire, who, with the sanction of Gregory II., organised the Church in Germany.

Shortly after the Synod of Whitby, Pope Vitalian appointed a Greek, Theodore of Tarsus, to the Archbishopric of Canterbury. Under Theodore the reorganisation of the Anglo-Saxon Church was undertaken. National synods of the clergy were established, monasteries were founded, and the majority of the unwieldy dioceses were split up. Learning was fostered, and England became the home of poet and scholar. Anglo-Saxon literature was rendered illustrious by the name of the Venerable Bede, whose Ecclesiastical History records the beginnings of our race, by Caedmon the humble dependent of the Abbey of Whitby, who composed a paraphrase of the Old Testament, and by Alcuin, the friend and adviser of Charlemagne.

CHIEF EVENTS.

	A.D.
Landing of St. Augustine	597.
Conversion of Northumbria	626.
Synod of Whitby	664.
Supremacy of Northumbria	616-685.

SAXON ENGLAND.

English Miles

0 10 20 40 60 80 100



CHAPTER IV.

THE SUPREMACY OF MERCIA AND THE RISE OF WESSEX.

1. The Decline of Northumbria.—On the death of Oswy, in 670, his son Egfrith succeeded and maintained the Northumbrian supremacy till his death. He conquered the Welsh of Cumbria, and made descents on the coast of Ireland. His military expeditions, however, culminated in an attack on the Picts, which ended disastrously. The Northumbrians were defeated at Nechtansmere in 685, and Egfrith was amongst the slain. The history of Northumbria during the last century of its independence is a record of treachery and rebellion. Out of fourteen kings, only one died in peaceful possession of the throne; the rest were either killed or deposed by their subjects. The overlordship held by Northumbria now passed to Mercia.

2. Wilfrid, Bishop of York.—The reign of Egfrith was also rendered memorable by a long quarrel with Wilfrid, whom we have seen playing an important part at the Synod of Whitby. Since then, Wilfrid had been appointed Bishop of York, and had visited Gaul to receive consecration. In his absence Oswy had nominated the saintly Chad to the same see. Wilfrid, therefore, on his return, retired to his monastery at Ripon. On the arrival of Theodore, however, Chad, at the bidding of the archbishop, retired, and shortly after, at the request of Wulfere of Mercia, was appointed to the new see of Lichfield. Wilfrid was left to rule over the vast Northumbrian diocese which stretched from the Forth to the Humber, and he soon came into collision with Theodore over the question of the division of his diocese. Wilfrid at once left England and laid his case before Pope Agatho, who, having also received a statement of Theodore's views, gave judgment

for Wilfrid. The bishop, therefore, returned to his diocese, bringing with him a papal Bull, ordering his restoration. Egfrith and the Northumbrian Witan refused to recognise the papal injunctions, and Wilfrid was banished. He finally took refuge amongst the heathen South Saxons, and by his preaching he converted them to the Faith. On the death of Egfrith, Wilfrid returned to York, and on the recommendation of Theodore was recognised by Egfrith's successor, Aldfrid. The intrigues of his enemies again drove Wilfrid to appeal to Rome, and ultimately, on the advice of Bertwald, the successor of Archbishop Theodore, and in accordance with the dying wishes of Aldfrid, a compromise was arranged in 705, and Wilfrid ruled the diocese of Hexham till his death, four years later.

3. The Supremacy of Mercia (757-825).—With the decline of Northumbria, Mercia came to the front under three strong kings, Wulfere, Ethelbald, and Offa. Wulfere, the son of Penda, besides carrying on the struggle with Egfrith of Northumbria with varying success, waged war with the West Saxons, from whom he conquered the Isle of Wight. This he made over to the king of the South Saxons, who at Wulfere's persuasion had become a Christian. Wulfere's brother Ethelred overran Kent, and on the death of Wulfere ruled Mercia till 704. Two short reigns then followed before the accession of Ethelbald, under whom Mercia dominated England from the Humber to the Channel. But the kings of Wessex struggled hard for independence, and in 753, at the battle of Burford, Ethelbald was defeated. Four years later he was killed by his own followers. His successor, Offa (757-796), saved for a time the supremacy of Mercia. After putting down his domestic enemies, he defeated the Kentish men and West Saxons. He then turned his arms against the Welsh, and drove them beyond the Wye. English settlers colonised the districts between the Wye and Severn, and a rampart, "Offa's Dyke," from the mouth of the Wye to the estuary of the Dee, protected the colonists from the attacks of the Welsh. Holding that the supremacy of Mercia should be marked by ecclesiastical distinctions, Offa applied to Pope Hadrian I. for permission to

raise Lichfield to an archbishopric. Two legates were sent, and at the Council of Chelsea, 787, the ecclesiastical province of Canterbury was divided, six dioceses being placed under the Archbishop of Lichfield. The change, however, was shortlived, and at the request of Offa's successor, Leo III. in 803 reversed the action of Hadrian. But for the time being Offa was all-powerful. All England, including Northumbria, acknowledged his overlordship. The kings of Wessex, Northumbria, and East Anglia married princesses of the Mercian royal house. Abroad, Offa's position was important, and he was able to correspond with Charlemagne on terms of equality. Offa died in 796, and was succeeded by his son Cenwulf, under whom the power of Mercia declined.

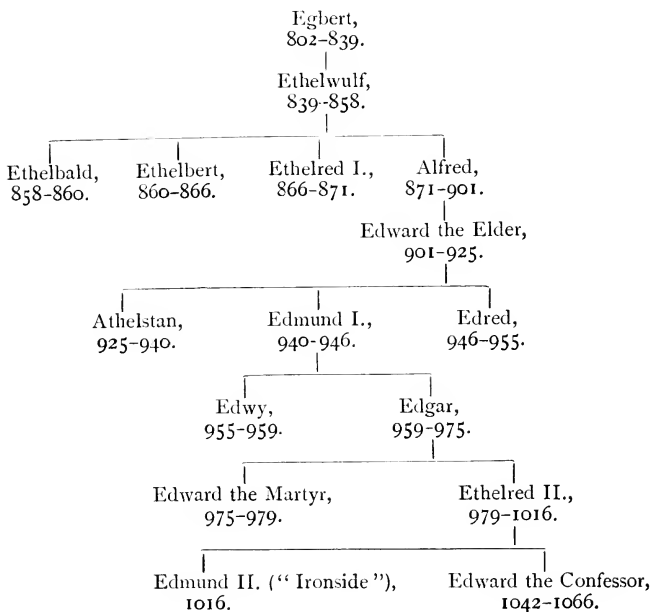
4. Egbert.—During Offa's reign Egbert, a prince of the house of Cerdic, had taken refuge at the court of Charlemagne, and had served in the Frank armies. At his accession in 802 he brought to the West Saxon throne a knowledge of politics and war which enabled him to raise Wessex to supremacy. He first attacked the Welsh of Cornwall, and forced them to submission. He then turned against the Mercians, and defeated them at Ellandune (825). This victory was followed by the conquest of Kent and East Anglia, and by the submission of Northumbria. In 828 Egbert invaded North Wales, and with its conquest Strathclyde alone of the three British districts remained independent.

From his career of conquest Egbert was now recalled by a new danger. The Danes, who had first appeared in England in Offa's reign (787), were now becoming formidable. A Danish fleet entered the Dart, and defeated the West Saxons, but, on their returning to the attack, Egbert by careful preparation was able to defeat them at Hingston Down, near Plymouth, and drive them to their ships. Egbert died in 839.

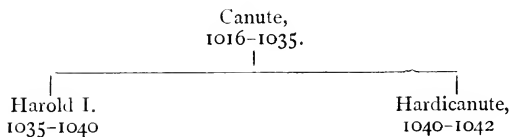
CHIEF EVENTS.

	A. D.
Battle of Nechtansmere	685.
Supremacy of Mercia	757-825.
First Danish invasion	787.
Accession of Egbert	802.
Battle of Ellandune	825.

THE WEST SAXON KINGS.



THE DANISH KINGS OF ENGLAND.



CHAPTER V.

THE DANISH INVASION AND THE STRUGGLE WITH WESSEX.

1. The Danes.—In the ninth century the civilisation of England, like that of the rest of Western Europe, was exposed to a new danger by the incursions of the Northmen, or Danes. The Scandinavian peninsula, Jutland, and the islands of the Baltic district were occupied at this time by another of the great family of German tribes. At this period the Northmen were still heathen, and in the looseness of their political organisations and the warlike character of their life they resembled the Saxons of the fifth century. Their skill as seamen and their strenuous courage are seen in the fact that they colonised Iceland, established settlements in Greenland, and are believed to have penetrated as far as North America. On the Frank Empire, crumbling to pieces under the weak successors of Charlemagne, they fell with terrific force, and accelerated its downfall. Coming at first simply as pirates, content with plunder, they gradually formed settlements, and their success culminated in the foundation of the Duchy of Normandy in France under Rollo, and the conquest of England under Canute. Their first appearance in England was as enemies of Christianity and destroyers of English civilisation, but their conversion at the end of the ninth century removed the greatest danger, and enabled them to play their part in the national life, into which they infused greater vigour and enterprise. Moreover, their conquest of the north and east, though involving for a time a relapse into barbarism, had at least one beneficial result, in that it stamped out the old tribal distinctions, and

thus paved the way for a real union of all England under Edgar.

2. The Danes in England.—Although their piratical attacks on the English coasts are recorded as having taken place in the eighth century, the full force of the Danish attack was not felt till the middle of the ninth century. As we have seen, Egbert was able to close his prosperous reign by defeating the Danes at Hingston Down, and thus to secure a short breathing space. Egbert was succeeded by his son Ethelwulf (839–858), the pupil of St. Swithin, later on Bishop of Winchester. Year after year, with varying fortunes, the Danes returned to the attack. In three great battles, Rochester, Canterbury, and London, the English were defeated, and the Danes, becoming bolder, swept round the coast in all directions, attacked Northumbria and penetrated into Mercia. In 851 they settled down to the permanent conquest of England, and for the first time wintered in the Isle of Thanet. Three hundred and fifty ships of the Vikings sailed up the Thames, and London and Canterbury were sacked. Surrey was invaded, but at Ockley the Danes sustained a severe defeat at the hands of Ethelwulf. This and other successes checked for a time the Danish advance, and enabled Ethelwulf to undertake a pilgrimage to Rome, taking with him his youngest son, Alfred. On his return he was compelled by the ambition of his eldest son, Ethelbald, to agree to a partition of his kingdom, which left to him only Kent and Sussex. He died two years later.

3. Ethelbald, Ethelbert, Ethelred (858–871).—The reigns of the three eldest sons of Ethelwulf only covered fourteen years, but they were years of untold misery and disaster. Mercia, Northumbria and Wessex were overrun by the Danes, and Winchester was sacked. In 866 a combined attack on England was made by a great confederation of Danish chieftains. Northumbria was attacked, and after a struggle succumbed. The north was partitioned amongst the conquerors, and pagan worship was restored in the district where Paulinus, Aidan and Wilfrid had preached. Meanwhile East Anglia had been conquered and its sub-king Edmund

put to death for refusing to abjure the Faith. Everywhere the destruction of churches and monasteries marked the Danish advance.

Wessex, under her king Ethelred, was now fighting for her very existence. In 870 the "Great Army" of the Danes concentrated against her, and met with a fierce resistance. The Danes, sailing up the Thames, entrenched themselves near Reading, and the attempt of Ethelred to dislodge them failed disastrously; but on the Danes moving in their turn to the attack, they were met by Ethelred and his youngest brother Alfred at Ashdown in Berkshire, and were routed. Still the attacks continued, and the Danes, constantly reinforced by fresh bands of Vikings, pressed on. Ethelred was defeated in 871 at Basing and Merton, and in the latter engagement was mortally wounded.

4. Alfred (871-901).—Alfred, the youngest of the four sons of Ethelwulf, was born at Wantage in 849. In his fifth year he had been taken to Rome, and had been anointed king by Leo IV. Although not physically strong, his mind was active, and the education he received coloured the whole of his life with a love of learning. At the age of twenty he married Elswitha, a descendant of the royal house of Mercia. In spite of the mysterious disease which afflicted him, he threw himself with passionate ardour into the struggle against the Danes. His was the organising hand which enabled the West Saxons to offer so determined a resistance under Ethelred, and on the death of his brother, Alfred was unanimously called to the throne of Wessex. His position was most precarious, for the nine great battles which had been fought in 871 had ended with the death of Ethelred at Merton, and the subsequent defeat of Alfred himself at Wilton. The young king was compelled to purchase a respite from his conquerors, which they made use of in order to complete the conquest of Mercia. All England was now theirs, except Wessex, and in 877, under their kings Hubba and Guthrum, they returned to the attack. For two years the struggle raged, but the steady pressure of the Danish armies, and the great mobility which the command

of the sea gave to them, made the West Saxon cause appear hopeless. Alfred himself was forced to take refuge in the island of Athelney, in the marshes of Somersetshire. Meanwhile Guthrum occupied an entrenched position at Chippenham, and Hubba set out to attack Devonshire. But the West Saxon resistance was still unbroken, for Hubba's army was destroyed by the men of Devon, and Alfred, gathering the remnants of his loyal followers, flung himself upon Guthrum, and defeated the Danes at Ethandune. Guthrum, besieged in Chippenham, was forced to come to terms, and the Peace of Wedmore (878) was the result. By the Treaty England was divided between Wessex and the Danes. The dividing line was to run along the Thames to the mouth of the Lea; then up the Lea to its source; then, striking across to Bedford, it was to follow the Ouse till it crossed Watling Street; and then along Watling Street to the Welsh border. Alfred thus surrendered a nominal rule over Northumbria, East Anglia, Essex and the eastern part of Mercia, but he regained Wessex, increased by the addition of nine counties west of Watling Street. As part of the settlement, Guthrum became a Christian.

The Peace of Wedmore, by recognising the position of the Danes, turned them from a horde of destroyers into comparatively peaceful settlers. Their conversion to Christianity paved the way for a union with their subjects in the Danish districts—or Danelagh—a union which was rendered easy by the fact that differences in language, constitutions, and law, were not great. For Wessex the Treaty was still more important. It put an end to a devastating struggle which had been in progress for the greater part of a century. Wessex, relieved from the pressure of war, rapidly recovered under the wise reforms of Alfred. Education was revived by the foundation of schools and monasteries, and the Church, which had suffered so terribly that religious learning was almost extinct, was restored under the rule of good bishops, native and foreign. The court of Alfred became a centre of learning and an example for his subjects of domestic virtues. Literature was fostered, and under Alfred's guidance Bede's "Ecclesiastical

History," Boethius' "Consolations of Philosophy," and the "Pastoral of Pope Gregory" were translated into English. Greatest of all gifts which after-times owe to Alfred is the Anglo-Saxon Chronicle, a compilation of historical records running back to the Anglo-Saxon Conquest which he ordered to be drawn up and to be continued from year to year. As a lawgiver Alfred's reputation in later times caused him to be the traditional founder of many institutions, but in reality, beyond the work of revision, he did little. With his internal reforms Alfred combined measures for external defence. The Saxons, once dangerous, like the Danes, as sea-rovers, had neglected naval defence; and one of Alfred's earliest acts on his accession was to set about the creation of a navy. In 875 his fleet had done good service against the Danes, and he now formed a definite plan for the organisation of a permanent navy. Ships of a larger size were built, and foreign sailors were encouraged to come over as captains of the fleet. At the same time the national militia, or *Fyrd*, was reorganised and divided into two parts, which served in turn, thus avoiding the danger of depriving the land of its cultivators.

The settlement made at Wedmore remained unchanged till 892, when a fresh army of adventurers, after an unsuccessful campaign on the Continent under Hastings, made a descent on England. The invaders, however, separated in two great divisions, one establishing itself at Appledore in Kent, the other at Milton. Alfred marched into Kent, and placed himself between the two camps. Although he succeeded in dislodging his enemies from their positions, a desultory struggle continued for five years, during which the Danes pushed up the Thames and along the Severn as far as Montgomeryshire. At Buttington a combined force of Welsh and English attacked and defeated them, and the war gradually died down. In 897 the Danes abandoned the attempt to conquer the south, and either settled in their own district, the Danelagh, or sailed away to attack France. For the last three years of the reign the land was in peace. Alfred died in 901.

CHIEF EVENTS.

	A. D.
Beginning of Danish Conquest	851.
Invasion of Wessex by the Great Army . .	870.
Battle of Ashdown	871.
Battle of Ethandune	878.
Peace of Wedmore	878.

CHAPTER VI.

THE REUNION OF ENGLAND UNDER WESSEX.

1. Edward the Elder (901-925).—The history of England in the earlier half of the tenth century is marked by a struggle on the part of the West Saxon kings to reconquer the Danelagh. The claim of Alfred's heir, Edward, generally called "The Elder," was opposed by Ethelwald, the heir of Ethelred, Alfred's predecessor, and, being rejected by the Witan, Ethelwald conspired with the Danes against his cousin. The Danes poured over the border into Wessex, but were defeated, and their attack on Kent, although marked by victory, was accompanied by the death of Ethelwald, whose claim they had espoused. Peace was therefore made.

Edward now settled down to the reconquest of Mercia and East Anglia. In Mercia he was supported by his sister Ethelfleda and her husband, Ealdorman Ethelred, who had been placed by Alfred over the Mercian part of his dominions. Ethelred died in 912, but his widow continued to rule as "Lady of the Mercians." A concerted movement was made by Edward and Ethelfleda from the east and west respectively, and as the frontier was pushed forward it was secured by a line of "burghs," or fortified outposts. Ethelfleda's attack was directed against two of the "Danish Boroughs," Derby and Leicester, which she captured. Edward meanwhile seized Bedford and Huntingdon, and forced Northampton and Cambridge to submission. On the death of Ethelfleda (918) Edward took Mercia into his own hands, and, pushing northward, took from the Danes Nottingham, Stamford, and Lincoln. The Danish resistance at once gave way, and Edward received

recognition as overlord not only from the Northumbrian and East Anglian Danes, but from the Welsh of Strathclyde and from the Scots. When Edward died in 925 he ruled directly over England from the Humber to the Channel, and was acknowledged as nominally supreme over the whole island.

2. Athelstan (925-940).—Under this king, Edward's eldest son, the expansion of the West Saxon dominions continued. He gave his sister Edith in marriage to Sihtric, the Danish king of Northumbria, and on the death of Sihtric seized his dominions. The dispossessed son of Sihtric formed a coalition with Constantine, king of the Scots, and with the Welsh of Strathclyde. In 937 Athelstan met his enemies at Brunanburh, the site of which is not known. The overwhelming victory gained by Athelstan over his enemies settled the fate of Northumbria and made Athelstan the first real king of all England. The greatness of his position is seen in his close relations with the kings of the Continent. He made his influence felt by supporting his ward Haco, the claimant to the throne of Norway, and another ward, Alan of Brittany, owed his dominions to the protection of the English king. One of Athelstan's sisters married Otto the Great, king of Germany, and another Charles the Simple, king of the West Franks.

3. Edmund (940-946). Edred (946-955).—Athelstan having died without direct heirs, his brother Edmund succeeded. The Danes of Northumbria at once revolted, and sent for Anlaf, son of their former king, Sihtric. The rebellion was soon put down, and Edmund followed this success by conquering Strathclyde, which he made over to Malcolm, king of the Scots, to be held by the latter as a dependency of the English Crown. In 946 Edmund was assassinated, and was succeeded by his brother Edred, under whom the taming of Northumbria was finally completed. The government of the district was reorganised, and Northumbria was divided into two earldoms, which were granted, one to Osulf, an Englishman, the other to Malcolm I. of Scotland.

4. Edwy (955-959).—During the reign of Edred, Dunstan, the first of a long line of great ecclesiastical statesmen, had

come to the front. Dunstan, a native of Somerset, had been brought up at the monastery of Glastonbury, and under the protection of Athelm, Archbishop of Canterbury, had been introduced at the court of Athelstan. Jealousy of his commanding abilities had caused the formation at court of a powerful faction against him, and in consequence he withdrew to Glastonbury, and, abandoning civil life, became a religious. He was recalled to court by Edmund, who conferred on him the Abbey of Glastonbury, and he became one of the chief advisers of Edmund, and subsequently of Edred. The accession of Edwy, a youth of sixteen, brought Dunstan's enemies again into power. Edwy refused the guidance of Dunstan, and the breach between them was widened by Edwy's marriage with Elgiva, whose relationship to the king was within the prohibited degrees. The Church denounced the marriage, and Edwy retaliated by driving Dunstan out of England and by seizing his abbey. A general revolt followed in Northumbria and Mercia in favour of Edgar, Edwy's brother, and after a short struggle Edwy was forced to acknowledge Edgar as king of England north of the Thames. Edgar at once called Dunstan to his court, and the Abbot of Glastonbury was made successively Bishop of Worcester and London. Edwy's death, soon after, saved the cause of union, and under Edgar England was reunited under one king.

5. Edgar (959-975).—The reign of Edgar was unclouded by domestic or foreign wars, and this fact has earned for him the title of "the Peaceful." The prolonged peace was largely due to the fact that the Northumbrian Danes had abandoned their dream of independence, and had been the first to join with the Mercians in raising Edgar to the throne. Throughout his reign he showed marked favour to his northern subjects, whom he admitted to high offices, secular and ecclesiastical. How far his policy was due to Dunstan is not known, but it is certain that king and minister worked hand-in-hand for the cause of reform in Church and State. The former had never recovered from the disasters of the Danish invasions, and in the Danelagh the great monasteries, which had done so much for

32 The Reunion of England under Wessex.

the conversion and civilisation of England, had been destroyed, and their lands confiscated. By the secular clergy the canons of the Church prescribing celibacy were frequently ignored, and the clergy were accused of giving themselves over to a life of secular interests and indulgence. Dunstan, who in 960 had become Archbishop of Canterbury, made his power felt in sweeping reforms. Throughout Europe, the great Benedictine reform, which sprang from the Burgundian convent of Cluny, was now causing a revival of monastic life, and, under Dunstan's guidance, the movement spread to England. Monasteries were founded, and in a few years Ely, Peterborough, and Thorney regained their former position. The married clergy were expelled from the cathedrals and replaced by monks. The revival of monastic life brought with it a renewal of learning and literature, and the Anglo-Saxon Chronicle, which had dwindled to bare outlines, now became a detailed source of contemporary events recorded by the monastic writers.

Under Edgar and Dunstan the State prospered in an equal degree. Justice was firmly administered, and Edgar's Ordinance of the Hundred reorganised the subdivisions of the shires, and laid on them the duty of repressing crimes. The Danelagh retained its own legal customs, but Englishman and Dane were treated alike. Three great fleets patrolled the coasts, south, east, and west, and preserved England from the attacks of the Northmen. In 973 Edgar was solemnly crowned at Bath, and at Chester received the homage of the vassal kings of Scotland, Cumbria, Wales, and Man. The story that he was rowed on the Dee by eight sub-kings shows the impression he made on after times, and how truly he justified his claim to the high-sounding title, "Totius Albionis Imperator Augustus." Edgar was the last of the line of great kings which had begun with Alfred. It had seemed possible that under them England would have worked her way to national unity, and that thus the house of Cerdic would achieve the success denied to the royal houses of Kent, Northumbria, and Mercia. But this was not to be, and England had still to go through a long period of

stern discipline under foreign kings, Danish, Norman, and Angevin, before her place in the family of nations was secured.

6. Anglo-Saxon Institutions.—From notices scattered over Anglo-Saxon charters, histories, and laws, dating from the seventh to the eleventh century, historians have reconstructed the system of government under which our forefathers lived.

(a) **The Township.**—At the bottom of the scale we find the vill, or township, occupied either by a number of freeholders and their families, or owned by a lord (*eorl* or *thegn*), and cultivated by his serfs. The land of the vill was cultivated on what is called the *three-field system*; it was divided into three great open fields, each subdivided into acre or half-acre strips, separated from one another by narrow grass lines, or balks. One field was under wheat, another under barley, while the third lay fallow. The villagers cultivated the fields on a system of joint labour, each villager supplying his oxen to the plough-team, and receiving the produce of his scattered strips. In the unfree villages the serfs cultivated portions of the land for their lord, paid him miscellaneous services (*e.g.* carting, watching at his fold during the lambing season), and made payments in money and kind. But the serf also held strips in the open field, from which he took the crops. The township was governed by a *reeve*, nominated by the king or lord, and possibly had a meeting, or *moot*, to manage its affairs.

(b) **The Hundred** was a collection of townships, and varied greatly in size. (In Anglian districts this division is called a *Wapentake*, and in the north a *Ward*.) It was governed by an officer, *hundred-reeve*, or *hundreds-caldor*, and had its meeting, which was attended by the lords or their stewards, and possibly by representatives of the townships. The business of the court was to decide disputes and to try criminals. The form of trial was by compurgation or ordeal. In the former, the accused was required to support his denial of the charge by the oaths of his friends or compurgators, the value of whose oaths varied according to their rank. If these were not forthcoming, he went to the ordeal.

Under this test he had to carry a bar of red-hot iron for three paces, or walk over red-hot plough-shares, or plunge his arm to the elbow in boiling water. If his wounds were not healed within three days, he was proved guilty, and had to make reparation, or *bôt*. This was generally a fine, part of which was paid to the injured person or his relations (the *wergild*), and varied according to the status of the injured man, and part to the king (the *wite*).

(c) **The Shire.**—Although a shire-system can be traced back to the seventh century, the existing shires had no uniform origin. Some, like Kent and Sussex, represent ancient heptarchic kingdoms, while others, such as Hampshire and Wiltshire, are the old tribal divisions of Wessex. In the Midlands the shires were purely artificial, and due to the reorganisation of the country in the tenth century, as it was reconquered from the Danes. The old landmarks having disappeared, a central town, *e.g.* Bedford, Leicester, was taken, and a district called after it was mapped out. Lastly, some of the northern counties are as late as, or later than, the Norman Conquest.

The government of the shire was entrusted to the *ealdorman* and sheriff. The former, in some cases a descendant of the ancient tribal king, in others appointed by the king and witan, led the *Fyrd*, or military force of the shire, and sat in the shire moot. The sheriff was the king's representative in the shire, and convened the shire moot. The same persons attended the meeting as in the case of the hundred-court, and the shire-court tried all cases beyond the jurisdiction of the former.

(d) **The Witan and King.**—The Witan was the council of the king, and was therefore attended by the officials of Church and State, and by the royal thegns. It elected the king, its choice being generally restricted to the best-qualified member of the royal family. Instances of deposition occur in the heptarchic period. It had a voice in the appointment of bishops and ealdormen; its sanction was invariably referred to in the issue of codes of law, as is seen in the laws of Alfred and Canute. It acted as a court of justice for the trial

of the disputes of the king's thegns, as in the struggle between the houses of Leofric and Godwin under Edward the Confessor. It controlled the summons of the *Fyrd*, it voted the Danegeld, and had a voice in the making of such treaties as the Peace of Wedmore (878).

The king, who stood at the head of the State, was not an irresponsible ruler. He was father of his people, guardian of its laws, elected by the Witan, and responsible to it. He was supreme judge in the last resort, and leader of the army. The needs of the State were provided for mainly by personal service, the *Trinoda Necessitas*, incumbent on all freeholders. This comprised the maintenance of roads, bridges, and fortifications, and service in the *Fyrd*. All crimes were infractions of the "King's Peace," and he had a share in the fines, but jurisdiction over the more serious offences, the *King's Pleas*, belonged to him alone. His revenue was drawn from his own private estates and from fines in the law courts, tolls and market dues, mines and salt works, and, in great emergencies, the Danegeld. His thegns furnished him with a powerful bodyguard, and he could endow them with lands and with rights of jurisdiction. Such a grant was called *Bocland*. In addition to the estate actually given were grants of jurisdiction over the lands of other freeholders with its profits, and exemption from financial duties to the State. *Bocland*, the estate held by *bocright*, was contrasted with *Folcland*, the land held by ancient customary law, or *Folc-right*, and the latter was subject to restrictions on alienation.

7. The Anglo-Saxon Church.—The Anglo-Saxons owed their conversion primarily to the apostolic zeal of St. Gregory the Great, and although disputes on points of discipline arose in the seventh century between the Latin and Celtic missionaries, these, as far as the Anglo-Saxon Church was concerned, were laid to rest by the Synod of Whitby (664). The British Christians on the borders of the Anglo-Saxon kingdoms still clung to their erroneous practices, but the extension of English rule over the British districts gradually brought with it the acceptance of the orthodox discipline. The Anglo-Saxon

Church, as a whole, maintained throughout its history the filial relations of loyal obedience to the Holy See, and was thus in intimate agreement with the rest of Catholic Christendom in doctrine and practice. The papacy continued to watch over the interests of religious life in England. Thus, in 680, the Synod of Hatfield, at the desire of Pope Agatho, affirmed the adhesion of the Anglo-Saxon Church to the teaching of the Lateran Council of 649. In 747 the Council of Clovesho, at the urgent command of Pope Zacharias, made a strong effort to reform the abuses which afflicted the Church under the rule of Ethelbald, King of Mercia; and in 803 another synod at Clovesho declared that the faith of the Anglo-Saxons was "the same as was taught by the Holy Roman Apostolic See, when Gregory the Great sent missionaries to our fathers." Pilgrimages to Rome, in spite of the dangers and difficulties of the journey, were undertaken by English kings and by their subjects, lay and clerical. The canons passed by English synods, the lives of English saints, the writings of Bede and Alcuin, the incidental notices in legal and other documents, which afford to us glimpses of the religious life of the people, all bear testimony to the harmony in belief and action which united our English forefathers to the Catholic Church.

CHIEF EVENTS.

	A.D.
Reconquest of the Danelagh	910-925.
Battle of Brunanburh	937.
Edgar, King of all England	973.

CHAPTER VII.

THE DANISH CONQUEST.

1. Edward the Martyr (975-979).—Edgar left two sons, Edward, aged thirteen, and Ethelred, a child of seven, the son by his second wife, Elfrida. The short reign of Edward was rendered turbulent by the factious conduct of the great ealdormen, who in the preceding reign had been curbed by the strong rule of Edgar and Dunstan. The archbishop was practically driven from power by the intrigues of his enemies, and the throne thus lost its chief defender. In 979, Edward was murdered at Corfe Castle by the treachery of his stepmother.

2. Ethelred II., the Unready (979-1016).—Under this prince the elements of disorder at once asserted themselves. Ethelred, pleasure-loving, feeble, obstinate and cruel, reigned for thirty-eight years, a period of national misery and degradation. Dunstan retired to Canterbury, where he died in 988. The Danish pirates, so long kept at bay by the fleets of Edgar, at once renewed their aggressions. The Northmen were now more formidable, because they had ceased to be mere bands of pirates, and had organised themselves into two great kingdoms, Norway under Olaf, Denmark under Swegn. In 980, they made descents on Southampton, Thanet, and Cornwall. For twenty years the miseries and sufferings of the ninth century were renewed. Ethelred, without any definite plan of action, left each shire to defend itself as best it could, contenting himself with spasmodic campaigns. Dunstan's successor, Archbishop Sigeric, in 991, suggested to the king the plan of buying off the Danes by a heavy bribe, a tax which, under the name of Danegeld, was to become permanent. A peace

was, however, arranged with Olaf, king of the Norwegians; and Ethelred, by marrying Emma, sister of Duke Richard of Normandy, secured himself against attacks from the Continent. But in 1002 Ethelred planned and carried out the infamous "Massacre of St. Brice's Day." Among the slaughtered Danes were the sister of Swegn, king of Denmark, and her husband and child, and Swegn therefore became the implacable enemy of Ethelred.

Disaster now followed on disaster. Swegn's forces ranged up and down the country, spreading ruin and desolation. Ethelred was ruled by Edric Streona—or the Grasper—Ealdorman of Mercia, a man of humble birth, whom the nobles detested, accusing him with justice of treachery and avarice. Every year fresh hordes of Danes descended on the unhappy country. Thurkill, Swegn's lieutenant, raided the south and east. In 1011 he besieged Canterbury, and the aged Archbishop Alphege was barbarously murdered for refusing to pay a ransom, which would have impoverished the Church. In 1013 England could resist no longer. Swegn himself came over and received the submission of Northumbria and of the west. Ethelred fled to Normandy, and the Witan, acting on the advice of Edric Streona, acknowledged Swegn as king. On the death of Swegn in 1014, his son Canute was set aside, and Ethelred returned at the invitation of his subjects. But he was now opposed by his former favourite, Edric, who supported Canute, and his reign ended amidst the miseries of war. Ethelred died in 1016.

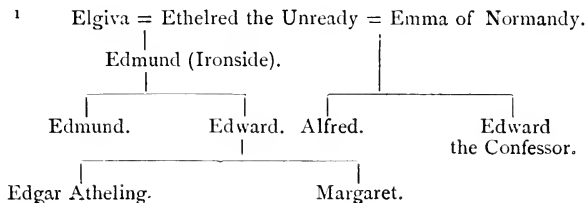
3. Edmund Ironside (1016-1017).—Edmund was at once proclaimed king by the Londoners, and strove to rally the national forces, while Canute posted himself at Southampton to overawe Wessex. A fierce struggle followed, Edric Streona acting the part of traitor as his interests dictated. In four pitched battles Edmund defeated the Danes, but in the fifth, fought at Assandune in Essex, Edric deserted Edmund for Canute, and the Danes remained masters of the field. As, however, neither side could destroy the other, Edmund and Canute agreed to divide the kingdom, Edmund taking Wessex,

Kent, and East Anglia, while Canute ruled Northumbria and Mercia as under-king. A month later Edmund was murdered, and all England acknowledged Canute.

4. Canute (1017-1035).—England now formed part of the great Scandinavian empire, of which Denmark was the centre, and to which Norway was added in 1028. Canute secured his position in England by sending the two infant sons of Edmund to Olaf, King of Sweden, who entrusted them to Stephen, King of Hungary, at whose court they were educated. King Edmund's half-brothers, Alfred and Edward, with their mother, Emma, the widow of Ethelred the Unready, had taken refuge with their uncle Richard, Duke of Normandy, but Canute disarmed the hostility of Richard by marrying Emma.¹

Canute now set about the restoration of order in his new kingdom. Edric Streona, who had been allowed at first to retain Mercia, was put to death. The kingdom was divided into four great earldoms—Northumberland, Mercia, East Anglia, and Wessex, and Canute soon showed his trust in the loyalty of his subjects by sending home his Danish forces, and entrusting two of the great earldoms to Englishmen. Leofric became Earl of Mercia, and Godwin Earl of Wessex. Canute also employed his English thegns on foreign expeditions, for Godwin accompanied Canute to Denmark, and is said to have rendered the king signal services. Even in the special bodyguard of House-carls, who attended the king, English and Northmen were admitted on equal terms.

In 1027, Canute, following the example of his Anglo-Saxon predecessors, made a pilgrimage to Rome. A letter is extant



written by Canute to his English subjects on his way back to Denmark, describing his reception by the Pope and emperor, and the concessions he had obtained on behalf of Englishmen coming as pilgrims to Rome. The Pope agreed to diminish the sums demanded from English archbishops "when, according to custom, they visited the Apostolic See to obtain the pallium." Canute ended by solemnly declaring to his subjects that he had dedicated his life to the service of God, and that if by violence or neglect he had done injustice hitherto, he would make compensation, and would see that justice in future should be done to all.

Under the rule of Canute prosperity began to revive. Trade flourished, and town life as a consequence developed. Canute's hold on Norway and Sweden prevented all attack from that quarter, and his successful assertion of his supremacy over Malcolm II., King of the Scots, and the Welsh, preserved peace within his island kingdom.

5. Harold I. (1035-1040); Hardicanute (1040-1042). The rule of Canute's descendants in England was short. Harold and Hardicanute disputed the succession. The former, Canute's son by an Englishwoman, was supported by northern England, the latter, who was the offspring of Canute's marriage with Queen Emma, relied on Godwin and the south. A compromise was arranged by which the two half-brothers divided England. Hardicanute took the district south of the Thames, and ruled also over Denmark. The sons of Ethelred the Unready and Emma, Edward and Alfred, made an attempt to recover their father's inheritance, but it was foiled by Godwin and their mother, who preferred the interests of her son Hardicanute. Alfred was captured and put to death, and rumour accused Godwin of having a hand in the murder of the young prince. Soon after, as Hardicanute neglected his English dominion and remained in Denmark, his English subjects acknowledged Harold, but the death of the latter secured the whole kingdom to Hardicanute. The new reign only lasted two years, but these were marked by oppressive government and heavy taxation. The death of Hardicanute

in 1042, in the midst of a drunken orgy at the marriage feast of one of his thegns, released England from her oppressor.

CHIEF EVENTS.

	A. D.
Renewal of Danish invasions	980.
Danegeld levied	991.
Massacre of St. Brice's Day	1002.
Battle of Assandune	1016.
Canute's pilgrimage to Rome	1027.

CHAPTER VIII.

THE ENGLISH RESTORATION AND THE NORMAN INVASION.

1. Edward the Confessor (1042-1066).—England now turned once again to the House of Cerdic, and Edward, son of Ethelred II. and Emma, was elected by the Witan. The new king was forty years old, and had spent the greater part of his life in Normandy, where he became imbued with a higher civilisation than that existing in England. He was deeply religious, and anxious for the welfare of his subjects. But he shrank from those measures of harshness which the rudeness of the times demanded, and his rule, though setting an example of mildness and justice on which after ages looked back with affection, did not always win for him the peace and loyal obedience for which he strove.

Edward owed his throne mainly to the support of Earl Godwin, whom he rewarded with his entire confidence. He married Godwin's daughter Edith, and the sons of Godwin, Harold, and Sweyn obtained earldoms in central England. The rest of the kingdom was divided between Leofric, Earl of Mercia, and Siward, Earl of Northumbria. With such powerful subjects the king's position was not likely to be a strong one, and Edward soon alienated Godwin by the favour he showed to Normans. Robert of Jumièges became Archbishop of Canterbury, and other Normans were given offices in Church and State. Godwin therefore came forward as champion of English interests against foreign influence. In 1051, Eustace of Boulogne, while passing through Dover, was insulted by the townsmen, and some of his retainers were killed. Godwin, as

Earl of Wessex, was responsible for the peace of Kent, but refused to punish the offenders. Edward therefore called on Leofric and Siward, who were naturally jealous of the power of Godwin's family, to help him. Godwin, unable or unwilling to resist the king, fled abroad with Harold and Sweyn. The Witan outlawed them, and Queen Edith was banished to a nunnery. While the English party was thus in exile, William of Normandy visited England, and received from Edward a promise that he should be recognised as heir to the throne.

The Norman reaction was, however, short-lived. In 1052 Godwin and his sons returned to England at the head of an army, and the Norman bishops and nobles had in their turn to go into exile. The Witan reversed the sentence against Godwin, and Robert of Jumièges was expelled from his archbishopric in favour of Stigand, Bishop of London. For the rest of his reign Edward was ruled by the house of Godwin. The great earl died in 1053, and Harold became Earl of Wessex. Siward of Northumbria died two years later, and his earldom was given to Tostig, third son of Earl Godwin, while earldoms were granted to the two youngest sons of Godwin, Gyrth and Leofwin.

The whole of England, except Mercia, was thus portioned out amongst the members of one family, but the change was justified on the whole by its success. In 1059 Griffith, King of Wales, raided the valley of the Severn. Harold drove him back into Wales, and pursued him into the mountainous district of the north. The Welsh purchased peace by a complete submission and by sending the head of Griffith as a peace-offering to their conqueror (1063). The claims of relationship, however, did not prevent Harold from doing justice even where his family interests were involved. Tostig's oppressive rule of Northumbria led to a revolt in favour of Morcar, grandson of Leofric, and brother of Edwin, the Earl of Mercia. Harold advised Edward to banish Tostig and confirm the action of the Northumbrians. Edward himself did not long survive these events. The wish of his later years had been to make a pilgrimage to Rome, but this had been

opposed by the Witan in view of the risks involved in the king's absence. Pope Leo IX. had therefore allowed Edward to undertake instead some other work of piety, and one of the king's last acts was to provide for the building of a new church and monastery at Westminster. Edward's death was bitterly mourned by his subjects; without the attributes of a great king, he left on his age the impression of a life free from all self-seeking, and wholly devoted to the welfare of his kingdom and to the service of the Church. "The laws and customs of good King Edward" long remained as the standard of good government to which Englishmen appealed, and to which even their foreign oppressors were compelled to pay homage.

2. Harold II. (1066).—Edward died without direct heirs, and the question of the succession to the throne had to be settled by the Witan. Edward himself, as we have seen, had made some promise to William of Normandy, but shortly after William's visit he had sent for Edward, son of Edmund Ironside, who had been brought up in Hungary. Edward of Hungary had died soon after arriving, and his son Edgar the Atheling was only ten years old. Moreover, Edward, on his death-bed, had recommended Harold to the Witan as his successor. The position was further complicated by the fact that Earl Harold himself some time before, while cruising in the Channel, had been wrecked on the coast of Normandy, and while at the court of William had been drawn into taking an oath of allegiance to the duke. The English Witan did not hesitate to set aside the other claimants in favour of Harold.

Both Harold and William prepared for the inevitable struggle. Harold tried to conciliate the House of Leofric by marrying Edith, the sister of Edwin and Morcar, and proceeded to put his kingdom into a state of defence. William meanwhile appealed to Western Europe for support against Harold, whom he denounced as a usurper and perjurer. The Norman barons pledged themselves to support William's claim, and looked forward to a share in the spoils of conquest. Adventurers from France, Germany, and other parts of Europe flocked to

Normandy to take part in the enterprise. But, first and foremost, William's appeal lay to the central tribunal of Christendom. The Anglo-Saxon Church presented in its disorganisation a reflection of the Anglo-Saxon State. Stigand, the nominal Archbishop of Canterbury, occupied the see from which Robert of Jumièges had been uncanonically expelled, and the illegality of his position was increased by the fact that he had received the pallium from the Anti-Pope Benedict X. Alexander II. therefore had no hesitation in sanctioning William's expedition, and sent him a consecrated banner.

William's attack on England found help in an unexpected quarter. The fatal tendency to disunion, so marked throughout Anglo-Saxon history, now showed itself in the house of Godwin. Harold, already threatened by the intrigues of Edwin and Morcar, was called on to resist the claims of his own brother Tostig to the earldom of Northumbria. Backed by Harold Hardrada, King of Norway, Tostig landed in Yorkshire, and with his ally marched on York. Edwin and Morcar, compelled to defend their earldoms, were defeated, and York surrendered. Harold meanwhile had marched north, and he now fell upon the invaders at Stamford Bridge. The invaders sustained a crushing defeat, and Tostig and Harold Hardrada were amongst the slain.

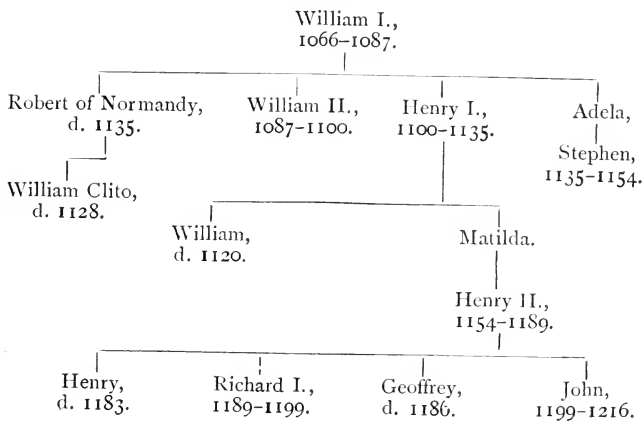
Tostig's attack had forced Harold to divide his forces, and this rendered feasible William's expedition. Two days after the battle of Stamford Bridge the Normans landed at Pevensey, and at once marched on Hastings. Harold hurried south, summoning his brothers with all the forces of the southern shires to London. Edwin and Morcar, intent on their own interests, hung back and waited to see the course of events. William had meanwhile utilised the ten days of delay to entrench himself at Hastings. On October 14, 1066, the fate of England was decided on the hill of Senlac. William, eager for a decisive engagement before the forces from Mercia and Northumbria could arrive, left his camp at Hastings and advanced to the attack. The English adhered to the old Teutonic custom of fighting on foot, and made no use of

cavalry. The centre consisted of the house-carls, clad in mail armour and armed with javelins, Danish axes, and broadswords. The wings were formed by the lightly armed contingents of the fyrd. The Normans, on the other hand, followed the more scientific methods of the Continent, and relied to a great extent on their cavalry and archers. William's aim was to disorganise the enemy by showers of arrows, and then ride in upon them before they had time to recover. Harold's plan was the wise one of remaining on the defensive, and he therefore ordered his men on no account to desert the upper slopes of the hill of Senlac, on which they were posted. In this position they successfully resisted for a time the attacks of the Norman cavalry. But the half-trained levies of the English flanks, galled by the Norman bowmen, got out of control, and, misled by a feigned retreat ordered by William, poured down the hill. William launched his cavalry on their broken lines, routed them completely, and dashed his men against the flanks of the English centre. Gyrth and Leofwin were already dead, and the fall of Harold made disaster inevitable. The English house-carls, disdaining to survive their master, fell fighting round the royal standard.

CHIEF EVENTS.

	A. D.
Earl Godwin banished	1051.
Harold's conquest of Wales	1063.
Tostig expelled from Northumbria	1065.
Battle of Stamford Bridge	September 25, 1066.
Battle of Hastings	October 14, 1066.

NORMAN AND ANGEVIN KINGS.





Walker & Cockerell sc.

CHAPTER IX.

WILLIAM I. (1066—1087).

1. Coronation of William I.—The stubborn resistance of the English, and the fact that the forces of Mercia and Northumbria were still available for the defence of England, led William to expect further fighting. His own army had suffered severely, and he did not move forward till he had received reinforcements from Normandy. Meanwhile the Witan met in London and elected Edgar Atheling as king. No leader, however, came forward to organise a national resistance, for Edwin and Morcar, who acquiesced in Edgar's election, at once withdrew to their earldoms. William, therefore, marched into Kent, laying waste the country, and received the submission of the Kentish strongholds, Dover and Canterbury. He then pushed northwards to London, but finding the bridge strongly guarded, he marched up the Thames as far as Wallingford, where he crossed and struck north to Berkhamstead. London, cut off from help from the north, at once surrendered. A deputation of bishops and thegns offered the throne to William, and he was crowned on Christmas Day, 1066, by the Archbishop of York.

2. Treatment of the Conquered Shires.—The coronation was followed by the submission of Edwin and Morcar, who did homage to the new king, and were confirmed in the possession of their earldoms. This gave William some hold over central England, and he then proceeded to deal with the southern and eastern shires, over which his authority was already effective. Refusing to recognise his own position as a conqueror, but claiming instead to be the lawful king,

he treated as rebels all those who had fought at Hastings. Although their lands were declared forfeited, for reasons of policy this was not pushed to extremes. Those who submitted were allowed, in many cases, to redeem their lands, and received them back as estates held directly of the king. At the same time lands were granted to William's followers to be held as fiefs by the feudal tenure of knight-service. This process of confiscation, followed by a re-grant on new conditions, was steadily pursued as the rebellions of the next five years threw more land into the king's hands. The result was the gradual disappearance of the complicated Anglo-Saxon tenures, some quasi-feudal, some freehold, and the reduction of all tenures to a uniform type. By the end of the reign all the land of England was held directly or indirectly of the king, and feudalism, as far as land tenure was concerned, was established.

3. Rebellion in the South and West of England (1067-1068).—In 1067 William returned to Normandy, taking with him Edgar Atheling and other Anglo-Saxon chiefs, and leaving his half-brother Odo, Bishop of Bayeux, and his trusted follower Fitz-Osbern as regents. The insolent oppression of the English by their Norman lords provoked risings; Copsi, an Englishman whom William had set over Northumbria, was killed, and there was fighting in Kent and Herefordshire. But the English were without leaders or definite aims, and were easily put down. William hurried back, and after punishing the rebels by confiscating their lands, he settled down to the conquest of the rest of England. In 1068 William had to deal with risings in the west and north. In the west, Gytha, with her grandchildren, the sons of Harold, held out at Exeter. William, summoning the fyrd from the shires, which he could trust, marched west, and forced Exeter to surrender. Gytha and her grandchildren fled over the seas. The submission of the south-western shires completed the conquest of southern England.

4. Conquest of the North (1069).—Meanwhile the north, over which William's authority was purely nominal, was

in open rebellion, and Edwin and Morcar in central England took up arms. William marched into the Midlands, took town after town, and stamped out resistance in the shires of Cambridge, Huntingdon, and Lincoln. The north made a formal submission, but in 1069 again rose in arms. Robert of Comines, the newly appointed earl, was killed at Durham. Malcolm III. of Scotland, who shortly after married Margaret, sister of Edgar Atheling, promised help. Swegn of Denmark sent a force to aid the rebels. The Danish fleet sailed up the Humber, and the Danes, joining the English under Waltheof, marched on York, where there was a Norman garrison. York was captured and burnt. William moved rapidly north; the Anglo-Danish alliance broke up, the Danes retreated to their ships, while William recaptured York and laid waste all the lands between the Humber and the Tees. Waltheof submitted, and the Danes were bribed by William to return to Denmark. In mid-winter he pushed through the mountainous district of Derbyshire into Cheshire, and with the submission of Chester the conquest of the north was complete. The harrying of the north, William's one great act of vengeance, left a permanent mark on the development of England, for it secured the predominance of southern England by dealing a blow to the northern shires, from which they did not wholly recover for seven hundred years.

The struggle now died down into an isolated resistance on the part of Hereward the Wake in the Isle of Ely. Edwin and Morcar, who had been pardoned, again rebelled, but Edwin was killed, and William captured Ely in 1071. Hereward was pardoned, and Morcar was imprisoned for the rest of his life. Edgar Atheling took refuge with Malcolm of Scotland, but an expedition into Scotland in 1072, which reached the banks of the Tay, forced Malcolm to do homage to William, and procured withdrawal of Edgar to Flanders. William was now effectually king of all England. English disunion and Norman discipline had completed the work begun at Hastings. Henceforward William's difficulties came from the turbulence of his own followers or descendants.

5. The Rebellion of the Norman Barons and Revolt of Robert (1074–1082).—In 1074 Ralph Guader, Earl of Norfolk, and Roger of Breteuil, Earl of Hereford, conspired with Waltheof. The conspiracy was a failure, for Waltheof decided to reveal the secret to the Government. Ralph fled to Denmark, and Roger was captured. The plot had received no support from the English, who, on the contrary, were against the rebels. William's vengeance, strangely enough, fell on Waltheof, who was beheaded; Roger was imprisoned for life.

In 1078 the king's eldest son, Robert, asked for the Duchy of Normandy, and meeting with an angry refusal, fled to Philip of France. Civil war followed in Normandy, and Robert, with French support, defeated his father at Gerberoi, in 1079. Robert, not recognising his opponent in the heat of battle, unhorsed and wounded his father. A reconciliation followed, but the quarrel was renewed, and ended in the banishment of Robert for the rest of the reign. Shortly after William, angered by the conduct and ambition of Bishop Odo, Earl of Kent, arrested and imprisoned him for life.

6. Danegeld and Domesday Survey.—In 1084 England was threatened by an invasion on the part of Canute of Denmark, and although Canute died before the attack could be carried out, the danger had important results. William revived the Danegeld in a more stringent form, and in 1085 ordered a survey of the country to be made in order to ascertain its resources for defence and taxation. The survey was completed in 1086. Commissioners were sent into the shires, and summoned before them in the shire-courts the reeve, parish priest, and six villans from each township. These were required to furnish particulars on the following points: the name of the manor, its owner; the number of hides and plough-teams; the number of tenants, whether free or unfree; the amount of wood, pasture, and waste land; and the value of the manor at different dates, viz., under Edward the Confessor, at the date when it was granted to the present holder, and at the date of the Survey itself. The results of the inquiry were sent

to Winchester, and from these Domesday Book was compiled. A detailed account of the condition of the greater part of the country was thus drawn up. William followed this by a summons of every free landholder to Salisbury (1086), and received from them an oath of personal allegiance to himself, thus striking a heavy blow at the disruptive tendencies of the feudal system.

7. The Last Years of William I.—The Duke of Normandy was too powerful a vassal not to be viewed with enmity by his feudal superior, Philip of France, and throughout his reign William was constantly on the watch to check the intrigues of the French king to make encroachments at his expense. In 1063 William had annexed the province of Maine, and the revolt of the district ten years later was put down with the help of an English army. Philip's hostility had shown itself in the support given to Robert in 1079, and the quarrel between suzerain and vassal was kept alive by a dispute as to the frontier line of Normandy. In 1087 William led a ravaging expedition into the French Vexin to avenge an insulting jest levelled at him by Philip. Mantes was taken and burnt, and William, while vindictively watching the destruction, was severely injured by his horse stumbling beneath him. He was carried back to Rouen, where he died shortly after.

8. William's Policy towards the Church.—For the Church in England William's reign proved as important as it was for the State. On the Continent the great revival, known as the Cluniac Reformation, was now at its height. The great Hildebrand, after standing by three Popes in succession as their chief adviser, himself ascended the papal throne in 1073, as Gregory VII. It was through the advice of Hildebrand that Alexander II. had sanctioned William's attack on England, for Hildebrand saw that the Church in England had fallen behind-hand, and required far-reaching reforms. At William's request three legates were sent to England to reorganise the Church. The schismatic Stigand was deposed, and replaced by the Italian Lanfranc, one of the greatest scholars in Europe. All the Anglo-Saxon bishops except one were removed, and the

same policy was gradually followed with regard to the heads of monasteries. Another great reform was carried out by a charter in which William ordered the bishop no longer to sit in the shire-court to judge ecclesiastical suits, but to try such cases by canon law in a separate ecclesiastical court. Under the guidance of Lanfranc, supported by William, religion in England revived. The country was covered with magnificent churches and cathedrals; laxity amongst the clergy was repressed, and the law of clerical celibacy was rigidly enforced. At the same time William tried to keep a strong hold on the Church. The demand of Gregory VII. for an oath of feudal fealty he flatly refused, although at the same time he promised to pay to the Papacy that obedience which his English predecessors had paid. Further, he is said by his biographer Eadmer to have introduced certain new regulations into England. Thus he insisted that in the case of a disputed succession to the Papacy he should decide which Pope England should acknowledge, and he ordered that all papal letters should be first submitted to him. Further, no synod of the English clergy was to make laws without his leave, and his ministers and tenants were not to be excommunicated without his sanction.

9. William's Policy towards Feudalism.—The Feudal System was an organisation of government based on land tenure, in which ownership of land was held to carry with it rights of jurisdiction over those who dwelt on it. The feudal lord in France owed duties to his superior, the king, but his tenants were bound in the first place to obey, not the king, but their lord. Hence feudalism always implied a weak central power, and a tendency to national disruption. As far as England was concerned, William from the first seems to have striven to thwart the worst tendencies of feudalism. He replaced the Anglo-Saxon tenures by the feudal tenures of the Continent, because that was inevitable, but he tried to resist the governmental aspect of feudalism whenever it was possible to do so. Thus he kept up the English institutions—the fyrd, the hundred and shire-courts, as a counterpoise to the private courts and armed forces of the barons. He rewarded his Norman followers with

grants of land, but he scattered their estates so as to avoid creating provincial jurisdictions. His creations of earldoms were few, especially after the rebellion in 1074, and he governed the counties by sheriffs, royal officers whom he could trust. Lastly, by the oath at Salisbury, 1086, he taught his people that his claim to their loyalty and obedience came before that of any feudal lord, and that refusal to obey him was treason. William inflicted many cruel wrongs on his English subjects. But he rendered to them one service of supreme importance by bequeathing to his successors a policy, the primary aim of which was to create a strong central power, and thus in the long run, by doing away with Anglo-Saxon disunion and feudal anarchy, was to give to England the priceless boon of national unity.

CHIEF EVENTS.

	A.D.
Completion of the Conquest	1067-1071.
First Feudal Conspiracy	1074.
Rebellion of Robert	1078.
Danegeld	1084.
Domesday Survey completed	1086.
Oath at Salisbury	1086.

CHAPTER X.

WILLIAM II. (1087-1100); *HENRY I.* (1100-1135);
STEPHEN (1135-1154).

1. The Struggle with Robert (1087-1096).—William I. on his deathbed had nominated William, his second son, nicknamed Rufus, to succeed him in England, while his eldest son Robert was to be Duke of Normandy. William Rufus therefore hurried to England, and was elected king by an assembly of barons and bishops. He was crowned by Lanfranc, his former tutor, and as long as the archbishop lived his influence held in check the vicious and cruel tendencies of his royal pupil. William's first care was to strengthen himself against the English adherents of Robert. Odo of Bayeux headed the opposition, and rebellions broke out in different parts of England. The danger was averted by the loyalty of the native English and by the feebleness of Duke Robert. William appealed to his people, and English support enabled him to crush the insurgents. Robert, who had promised help to the rebels, did not move. In 1091 William led an expedition into Normandy, where he was joined by those of the Norman vassals who hoped for advantages from the quarrels of the two brothers. But through the mediation of Philip of France peace was arranged, William retaining certain strongholds in Normandy, while Robert renounced his claims on England. An amnesty for Robert's English adherents was agreed on, and it was arranged that on the death of either prince the survivor should succeed to his possessions. Duke Robert, however, backed by the French king, continued to intrigue against William, who retorted by another attack on Normandy; but the threatening attitude of Philip and dangers

at home forced him to return to England. In 1096 William gained peaceful possession of the Duchy. Duke Robert, fired with zeal for the recovery of the Holy Land, had vowed to join the first Crusade. William eagerly took advantage of his brother's enthusiasm, and in return for a loan of 10,000 marks was placed in possession of Normandy.

2. Wars with the Scotch and Welsh.—In the midst of his quarrel with Robert, William Rufus had been recalled to England by danger from Scotland and Wales. Malcolm Canmore, the supporter of his brother-in-law Edgar Atheling against William I., had eventually done homage to the Conqueror, but in 1091 he had plundered the northern shires. William II. retorted by an invasion of Scotland, by which he forced Malcolm to renew his oath of allegiance and to surrender Cumberland, which had been included in the grant of Strathclyde made by Edmund I., in 945, to the Scottish king. To secure Cumberland Carlisle was fortified. In 1093 Malcolm again invaded England, and carried a ravaging expedition as far as Alnwick, where he was surprised by Robert Mowbray, Earl of Northumberland, and killed. A disputed succession to the Scotch throne followed, but in 1097 Edgar Atheling, with the support of William, led an army into Scotland, and secured the accession of his nephew Edgar, the second son of Malcolm and Margaret.

With regard to Wales, William Rufus was less successful. William I. had caused castles to be built, and, abandoning his ordinary anti-feudal policy, had created the three great earldoms of Chester, Shrewsbury, and Hereford with almost sovereign rights, so as to provide strong local means of defence against the Welsh. In 1094 the Welsh poured into the three earldoms, and after devastating the country, captured the castle of Montgomery. William retaliated by an expedition into Wales. But the cumbrous Norman cavalry was of little use in a mountainous country, and after a short campaign William retired, contenting himself with offers of Welsh land to those of his barons who chose to undertake the conquest.

3. William's Misgovernment.—The death of Lanfranc in 1089 removed the only restraint on William's vicious and

tyrannical conduct. The king's chief adviser, or justiciar, was Ralph Flambard, a Norman priest, who had served under William I., and now won the confidence of William Rufus by his unscrupulous character. A system of extortion was set going in Church and State. Feudal reliefs—the payment made by the heir of a tenant-in-chief before succeeding to the estate—were largely increased, so that the heir had practically to repurchase the estate. Under the feudal system the king could claim the custody of an estate if the heir was a minor, and in the case of an heiress could dispose of her in marriage. Both these rights, known respectively as wardship and marriage, were grossly abused. Even the old forms of liberty were turned into engines of oppression. Flambard, we are told, “drave the gemots,” that is, he summoned the local courts of the shire and hundred at frequent intervals in order to exact sums of money.

4. William II. and Anselm.—On the Church the hand of William and Flambard fell with equal heaviness. Bishoprics were kept vacant in order that the Crown might seize the revenues, and when a new bishop was appointed, William insisted on a large present of money, which brought the whole transaction dangerously near to the sin of simony. It was not till 1093 that William, thinking himself at the point of death, nominated Anselm to the Archbishopric of Canterbury.

Anselm, a native of Aosta in Piedmont, had been attracted to the monastery of Bec in Normandy, then ruled by Lanfranc. He succeeded Lanfranc as Prior of Bec, and after fifteen years in this office he was appointed abbot of the monastery. His gentle and lovable nature was combined with intellectual gifts of the highest order, and with a keenness of mind which enabled him to detect at a glance the weakness in an adversary's position. From time to time he travelled on the business of his monastery, and thus, in 1078, he came to England on a visit to Lanfranc. In 1092, at the request of Hugh, Earl of Chester, Anselm visited Chester in order to carry through reforms in the constitution of the Church of St. Werburgh. From Chester he was summoned to the king's bedside at

Gloucester, and almost by force was compelled to accept the nomination to the Archbishopric of Canterbury. William promised Anselm to carry out a number of reforms if he recovered from his illness, but his promises were not kept. The royal court became a centre of debauchery, and the old abuses in the government revived. The rupture between Anselm and the king was not long delayed. William, being in need of money for his Norman expedition, received contributions from his barons, and amongst them 500 pounds of silver from Anselm. This was refused by the king as insufficient, whereupon the archbishop distributed his gift amongst the poor. In 1095 Anselm asked leave of William to go to Rome to receive the pallium from Urban II., whose succession to the Papacy was disputed by the Anti-Pope, Clement III., the nominee of the Emperor Henry IV. William angrily refused to allow any one but himself to decide which of the rival claimants was to be acknowledged as Pope. A great council was held at Rockingham to decide the question, but as Anselm refused to renounce his allegiance to Urban, William was forced in the end to give way. He therefore secretly asked Urban that the pallium might be sent to him, intending to confer it on any one he pleased, if he could force Anselm to resign. But all intrigues were frustrated by the unwavering courage of Anselm. Urban sent a cardinal with the pallium, and Anselm, after refusing to receive it at the hands of the king, took it from the altar of Canterbury Cathedral. In 1097 Anselm, finding his position intolerable, set out for Rome to lay his case before the Pope, Urban II. William and Anselm did not meet again. In 1100 an arrow from an unknown hand struck the king as he was hunting in the New Forest, and released England from the burden of his tyranny and evil example.

5. The Reforms of Henry I.—Henry lost no time in securing his own accession. The barons would have preferred the rule of Robert of Normandy, but the latter was absent in Palestine, and Henry, therefore, was elected king without opposition. One of Henry's first acts was to write to Anselm,

begging him to return, and this popular step was accompanied by the issue of a charter promising that the abuses of the last reign should cease. The Church was to be free, and the king pledged himself not to seize the revenues of vacant bishoprics or other clerical appointments. Feudal dues were to be just and lawful, both those paid to the king by his tenants-in-chief and to the latter by their tenants. Abuses of wardship and of giving heiresses in marriage were forbidden, and the "Law of Edward the Confessor," as amended by William I., was to be restored. To conciliate the barons, Henry imprisoned Flam-bard, and he won over the English by his promised marriage with Matilda of Scotland, daughter of Malcolm and Margaret, and niece of Edgar Atheling.

6. The Struggle with Robert of Normandy.—By these concessions Henry had drawn the majority of his subjects to his side, and the strength of his position was at once seen when the return of Robert to Normandy led to a rebellion of the barons in England. Robert landed at Porchester with an army, but finding his younger brother too strong to be dislodged from the throne, he agreed to a compromise by which he surrendered his claim to England for a pension of 3000 marks annually (1101).

Henry was prevented by the terms of this treaty from directly punishing his brother's adherents in England, but he seized every opportunity to humiliate those barons who had supported Robert in his expedition. On various charges they were summoned before the Curia Regis, and were outlawed or deprived of their possessions. Chief amongst them was the turbulent Robert of Belesme, Earl of Shrewsbury, the most powerful noble in England, but brutal, rapacious, and treacherous. Summoned to answer forty-five charges of treason, he retired to his stronghold, the castle of Bridgnorth on the Severn. The loyalty of his English subjects enabled Henry to take the field with a large army, and the fall of his castles of Arundel and Bridgnorth forced Belesme to make an abject submission. He was allowed to retire to Normandy, where he took service with Duke Robert. The English hailed with joy

the defeat of Belesme. "Rejoice, King Henry," they cried, "and praise the Lord God now that thou hast conquered Robert of Belesme, and driven him out of the bounds of thy kingdom" (1102).

The steady repression of Duke Robert's party in England soon led to a renewal of the struggle between the two brothers. In 1104 war broke out, and after some indecisive fighting the fate of Robert was decided in the campaign of 1106. Henry led an army of barons and English foot-soldiers into Normandy, and laid siege to Tenchebrai. Robert marched to relieve the town, and was completely routed. Amongst the captives were Duke Robert himself and Edgar Atheling. Robert was imprisoned in Cardiff Castle till his death in 1135. The victory of Tenchebrai, won by an English army on Norman soil, seemed to the English a just vengeance for their defeat at Hastings forty years before.

7. The Investiture Quarrel.—Since his recall in 1100 Anselm had thrown himself vigorously on the side of the king, and it was mainly through his exertions that the English had supported Henry at every crisis. But from the outset his relations with the king were complicated by a dispute as to the respective rights of the Church and Crown with regard to the ecclesiastical appointments. This question, which had thrown the Papacy and Empire into violent antagonism, was known as the Investiture Quarrel.

Investiture in feudal phraseology meant the grant of an office or estate, the grant being ratified by the gift of some symbol, such as, in the case of a bishop or abbot, the ring and crozier. The right of nomination and investiture was in the eleventh century claimed by European kings, who insisted that bishops, as great feudal magnates, should be appointed by them, and, on being invested, should do homage for their estates. But the Church was now struggling to extricate herself from the network of feudal relations which tended to reduce bishops and abbots to the position of lay officials, and to make spiritual offices hereditary and even saleable. Hence the decrees of Gregory VII. in 1075 against simony, marriage of the clergy,

and investiture by laymen, and these had been reaffirmed by Urban II. in a council at Rome in 1099, at which Anselm, then in exile, had assisted. On his return to England Anselm refused to do homage to Henry or to recognise bishops invested by the king. Long negotiations followed, and in 1103 Anselm retired to Rome to consult Pascal II., and while abroad was ordered by Henry not to return unless prepared to give way on the point at issue. Anselm's second exile lasted three years, but in 1106 he met Henry at Bec, and a reconciliation followed. Anselm returned to England, and in 1107, at the Council of London, a compromise was arranged. Henry agreed that no layman should exercise the right of investiture, while Anselm promised that he would not refuse consecration to a person elected to a prelate because the candidate had done homage to the king. Henceforward, therefore, elections were to be made by the Cathedral Chapters in the King's Court, the bishop-elect was to do homage to the king, and after consecration to receive the ring and crozier from the archbishop. Anselm's death in 1109 ended a career spent in the service of Church and State.

8. Henry's Government.—The victory of Tenchebrai and the settlement of the Investiture Quarrel were followed by ten years of peace. Henry, supreme in England and Normandy, was free to carry out internal reforms. He chose as his chief minister the Justiciar Roger, who was elected Bishop of Salisbury, and the whole administration was recast. While the Great Council of feudal magnates continued to meet when the king chose, a smaller body was formed, the Curia Regis, partly judicial, partly consultative, consisting of the great officials, lay and clerical, and of those whose advice the king might consider necessary. Its members when engaged in financial business sat in the Exchequer to receive the sheriffs' accounts, and to control expenditure. From time to time officials visited the counties, and sitting in the local courts enforced the financial rights of the Crown, while incidentally they dispensed justice. It was during this period also that Henry issued a decree ordering the local courts of shire and

hundred to meet as in King Edward's time. Thus both central and local governments were brought into touch with one another, and the range of action of the former increased. Further, from the ranks of the official class sprang a new race of nobles allied in interest to the Crown, and forming a counterpoise to the feudal families of the Conquest period.

9. The Succession Question.—The possession of Normandy brought Henry into frequent difficulties with his feudal superior, Louis VI., the King of France, who supported William Clito, son and heir of Duke Robert; and Henry was also harassed by the hostility of his neighbour Fulk, Count of Anjou. Henry himself had two children, William his heir, and Matilda, the wife of the Emperor Henry V. The Norman barons had sworn allegiance to William, but in 1120 the young prince, while returning to England, was wrecked in the "White Ship," and drowned off the coast of Normandy. As Queen Matilda had died in 1118, Henry married Adela of Louvain. The marriage proved fruitless, and he therefore concentrated his efforts on securing the succession of his daughter Matilda, who on the death of Henry V. had returned to England. The barons were persuaded to swear allegiance to her, and the death of William Clito while fighting in battle (1128) removed her chief rival. Her position was further strengthened by her marriage with Geoffrey, eldest son of Fulk of Anjou. The marriage was a politic one, for it disarmed the hostility of the crafty and scheming House of Anjou, but it was not popular in England or Normandy. On the birth of a son to Matilda and Geoffrey in 1133, Henry procured from his barons an oath of allegiance to Matilda and her child Henry as his successors.

10. Results of Henry's Reign.—With the death of Henry I. in 1135 the period of strong government, dating back to the Norman Conquest, came abruptly to a close. The central power created by William I. and maintained by William II. had been raised to a pitch of great efficiency by Henry and his ministers. The native chroniclers complain of the heavy taxes

which never grew lighter, but they also pay ungrudging tribute to the swift justice which overtook all who did wrong. "A good man he was, and all men stood in awe of him. No man durst misdo against another in his time." By the end of his reign the divisions between Saxon and Mercian and Norman were fast disappearing. The three Norman kings, William I., William II., and Henry I., by strong government, as well as by grinding oppression, had stamped out the jarring elements which had made Anglo-Saxon unity impossible. Moreover, efficient government opened up possibilities of trade hitherto unknown. Towns grew, foreign artisans came over, foreign merchants visited England, and merchant guilds were introduced after the Continental pattern. England also shared in the ecclesiastical development of the Continent. The Crusades drew her into wider spheres of action. Learning revived under the sheltering care of the Benedictines, while the new order of Cistercians, whose real founder was an Englishman, St. Stephen Harding, reclaimed the uncultivated lands of northern England. Settled government, settled conditions of life made great developments possible, and the nation owed these directly or indirectly to the thirty-two years of internal peace which Henry's reign secured. The greatness of the debt can be seen in the anarchy which burst forth when his strong hand was removed.

11. Stephen's Accession (1135).—The carefully prepared plans of Henry I. were completely shattered by the promptitude of Stephen, third son of Adela, Henry's sister, the wife of the Count of Blois. Stephen had been regarded with special favour by his uncle, the late king, and had been rewarded for his fidelity by estates in England and Normandy. He increased his possessions by his marriage with Matilda, heiress of the Count of Boulogne, and his brother Henry held the important bishopric of Winchester. Amiable, brave, and courteous, Stephen relied on his popularity to condone his breach of faith in putting forward his claim to the throne against Matilda, whose rights, both by oath and by gratitude to his uncle, he was bound to uphold. With characteristic

boldness he at once sailed from Normandy, and landing in Kent he was acclaimed king by the Londoners. He hurried to Winchester, and there secured the royal treasure. The late king's ministers, in fear of the weak rule of a queen, rallied to his side under the guidance of Roger of Salisbury, while the barons, hating the rule of Matilda and of her Angevin husband, were easily won over by lavish promises of reward. Supported by the Church and accepted by the barons and ministers, Stephen's election was secured. Even Robert, Earl of Gloucester, illegitimate son of Henry I. and therefore Matilda's half-brother, recognized him as king.

12. The Battle of the Standard (1138).—Matilda and Geoffrey had weakened their chances of success in England by trying to secure Normandy, and for the moment their cause seemed hopeless. But Stephen soon undermined his position by his reckless grants of estates to those whose support was necessary to him, and the barons saw in the claim of Matilda a chance of shaking off the oppressive rule which in the previous reign had curtailed their feudal claims. In 1138 the invasion of England by David King of Scotland, led to a rising in favour of Matilda, which was joined by Robert of Gloucester and a number of barons. David pushed through Northumberland and Durham, ravaging as he went, and entered Yorkshire. The aged Archbishop Thurstan assembled the northern barons and organized the resistance of the people. The English army, under Walter Lespec, encountered the Scots near Northallerton. In the midst of the English was a cart bearing a standard surmounted by a cross, to which was fixed a box of silver containing the Blessed Sacrament, and beneath the cross waved the banners of St. Peter, St. Wilfrid of Ripon, and St. John of Beverley. In the ensuing battle the Scots were completely defeated. Stephen, however, gladly bought the cessation of war by agreeing that David's son Henry should hold the earldom of Northumberland, except the fortresses of Newcastle and Bamborough, as a fief of the English Crown. Meanwhile, in the south of England, Robert of Gloucester and Miles Earl of Hereford declared for Matilda,

and civil war began. Stephen, however, showed marked military skill, and was able to drive his two chief enemies out of the country.

13. The Quarrel with the Church (1139).—Stephen owed his election as king to the support of the Church, and his succession had been confirmed by Pope Innocent II. Roger of Salisbury, the great Justiciar of Henry I., with his son Roger the Chancellor, and his two nephews Nigel, Bishop of Ely, the Treasurer, and Alexander, Bishop of Lincoln, formed a most powerful combination of clerical and ministerial interests. Stephen, however, did not hesitate at this crisis in his fortunes to alienate his chief supporters. Fearing that Roger and his relations might throw their influence on the side of Matilda, he tried to disarm them by demanding the surrender of their castles. The aged Roger of Salisbury, his son the Chancellor, and Alexander of Lincoln, were arrested and imprisoned with every circumstance of indignity. The clergy at once took the part of the injured prelates. Stephen's brother Henry of Winchester sided with his order, and Matilda seizing her opportunity landed in England.

14. The Civil War.—The collapse of the administrative system accompanied the outbreak of war, and ten years of anarchy followed. The barons on both sides took advantage of the struggle to build castles, garrisoned by foreign mercenaries and native adventurers. Men and women were imprisoned and put to the torture till they surrendered their goods. Thousands died of hunger and pestilence ; while burnt villages and fields untilled marked the sway of the feudal banditti. Both Stephen and Matilda brought over foreign troops, who enriched themselves by plundering every district through which they passed. "Every rich man," says the Chronicle, "made his castles and held them against the king, and filled the land with castles. . . . They took the men who they weened had any goods, both by night and by day, men and women, and put them in prison for gold and silver, and tortured them with unspeakable torture ; never were martyrs so tortured as they were. . . . Even if the land was tilled the earth bare no corn,

for it was all undone with their deeds ; and they said openly that Christ and His holy ones were asleep."

Matilda's main supporters were in the north and west, while Stephen relied on London and the eastern and southern countries. In 1141 Stephen was besieging Lincoln Castle, when Ralph, Earl of Chester, and Robert of Gloucester, marching to its relief, defeated the royal army and captured Stephen. A general submission to Matilda followed, and at London she was formally recognized as Lady of the English by Henry of Winchester, acting as papal legate, and by the leading barons. But she soon alienated her supporters by her harsh conduct to the adherents of Stephen. When, therefore, Matilda of Boulogne, Stephen's Queen, advanced on London, the citizens rose in revolt, and the Empress fled to Winchester. Henry of Winchester renounced his allegiance to her, and the capture of Robert of Gloucester forced Matilda to release Stephen in exchange for her half-brother. In 1142 she was besieged by Stephen at Oxford, but managed to escape to Wallingford. The war now degenerated into a series of desultory skirmishes, and as the death of Robert of Gloucester in 1147 made Matilda's cause hopeless, the Empress abandoned the struggle and retired to Normandy. Here, through the skill of her husband Geoffrey, her position had been secured, and the whole duchy acknowledged her rule.

15. The Treaty of Wallingford (1153).—In 1153 a fresh impulse was given to the war by the landing of Henry of Anjou, the son of Matilda and Geoffrey. He had been Duke of Normandy since 1149, and the death of his father in 1151 put him in possession of Anjou, Touraine, and Maine. His marriage with Eleanor, the heiress of Aquitaine, who had been repudiated by her husband, Louis VII., gave him still greater resources, and enabled him at the age of nineteen to undertake the conquest of England. His success was rapid, and Stephen at last weary of the struggle agreed to terms. Stephen's son Eustace had recently died ; and so long as his own position was secured he had no longer any interest in continuing the war. By the treaty of Wallingford it was agreed that Stephen

should remain king, and that Henry should be his heir. A scheme of pacification was agreed on, which included the destruction of the "adulterine" or unlicensed castles, the restoration of agriculture, and the expulsion of the mercenaries. The scheme was only partly carried out when Stephen died eleven months later. His reign had served as an object lesson to the nation, and taught it to understand what miseries unrestrained feudalism entailed.

CHIEF EVENTS.

	A.D
Death of Lanfranc	1089.
Anselm made Archbishop	1093.
Defeat of Belesme	1102.
Battle of Tenchebrai	1106.
Compromise with Anselm	1107.
Death of Prince William	1120.
Death of William Clito	1128.
Birth of Henry of Anjou	1133.
Battle of the Standard	1138.
Quarrel with the Church	1139.
Battle of Lincoln	1141.
Treaty of Wallingford	1153.

CHAPTER XI.

HENRY II. (1154-1189).

1. The Character and Position of Henry II.—Henry of Anjou, who succeeded to the throne at the age of twenty-one, was remarkable for strength of body and mind. His vigorous but coarsely built frame seemed incapable of fatigue. He wore out his courtiers by his rapid progresses through his heterogeneous dominions, and as if to show his contempt for the comfort of the motley collection of courtiers, bishops, ministers, and suitors, who followed him, he would break up his camp on the evening of the day on which it had been pitched, or would stop mid-way on his journey at some woodland hut, where there was only accommodation for himself. But the activity of his mind was equally amazing. His desire to master all the secrets of government and law was insatiable. Henry himself presided over the Curia Regis, and he would draft with his own hand a charter of privileges to a monastery or town. He delighted in the minute and tedious disputes of the lawyers, and could hold his own in the discussions of the scholars whom he welcomed at his court. He spoke Latin and French, and though probably ignorant of English, he understood the dialects of his continental dominions. Men said of him that he had always in his hand a weapon or a book. And with all this, he grasped the threads of his international negotiations, meeting with consummate skill the ceaseless intrigues of his enemy Louis VII. of France. At his court envoys appeared from Jerusalem, Moorish Spain, and Norway. Statesmen were trained by him, and under his influence England caught a glimpse of a wider destiny. No



wonder that with all this persistent outburst of energy his coarser nature at times came to the surface. There were moments when his freckled face and grey eyes blazed with fury, when no measure of vindictive spite seemed beyond him, and when before his terrified courtiers he flung himself on the ground in a paroxysm of passion.

2. The Restoration of Order.—Henry's first duty was the reconstruction of the administration, and he at once began to carry out the reforms settled at Wallingford in 1153. His task was difficult, but his position in England was strengthened by his prestige as ruler of the greater part of France. From his mother Matilda he had inherited Normandy, and from his father Geoffrey the counties of Anjou, Maine, and Touraine, while by his astute marriage with Eleanor, the divorced wife of Louis VII.,¹ he had acquired a principality which stretched from the Loire to the Pyrenees. He had claims to the overlordship of Toulouse, and his grip on the north and west coasts of France enabled him to control the great rivers, the Loire and the Seine.

Within two months of the death of Stephen, Henry had been elected and crowned at London. A charter was issued granting all the liberties enjoyed under Henry I., and orders were sent out for expulsion of the foreign mercenaries and the destruction of the unlicensed castles. The lavish grants of land made by Stephen and Matilda were annulled. To these measures some of the barons offered resistance, but Henry's prompt action forced the chiefs of the opposition, the Count of Aumale, Roger of Hereford, and Hugh Mortimer to submit. The "adulterine castles," which in the last reign had been little better than caverns of murder, were everywhere destroyed. In 1157 Henry obtained from Malcolm of Scotland the restitution of Cumberland, which had been surrendered by Stephen. Meanwhile the great departments of State, the Exchequer, and the Curia Regis, had been restored, vacant sheriffdoms had

¹ It should be understood that the expression "divorced" is here used to denote the recognition of a union as invalid on the ground of some impediment ecclesiastical or otherwise.

been filled up, and new ministers appointed. The most important were Richard de Lucy, the justiciar, and Thomas of London, the chancellor and future archbishop.

In 1159 Henry led an expedition to the South of France to assert his claims over the county of Toulouse. The war against Louis VII. was indecisive, but it brought into prominence the institution of Scutage. Under the feudal system tenants-in-chief were bound to serve the king for forty days in the year. This for a distant expedition like that in hand was both inconvenient and expensive. The practice of commuting service for money payments was at this time making its way throughout the feudal system, and had been applied to military service as early as the reign of Henry I. It was now used on a wider scale, Henry accepting from his tenants Scutage or shield-money instead of personal service. This had the advantage of making the king independent of the unruly feudal levies, while it enabled him to hire mercenaries on whom he could rely. In addition it tended to disarm the barons by removing the pretext for keeping up large military establishments. For four years Henry remained abroad, England meanwhile being governed by the justiciar and chancellor. The administration was carried on with great efficiency, the revenues were collected and administered with care, and the coinage was reformed. Abroad, Henry's success was unchecked. In 1162 his position was second to that of the Emperor alone. He had thrown the weight of his influence on the side of Alexander III. against the anti-pope supported by Frederick Barbarossa; he had defeated the intrigues of his enemies, domestic and foreign, and while strengthening his hold on Normandy and Anjou, he had got himself acknowledged overlord of Brittany. The success of this, the happiest part of his reign, was brought to a close by Henry's quarrel with the Church, which led up to the great catastrophe of his life and embittered the rest of his reign.

3. Thomas the Archbishop.—Thomas the Chancellor was the son of a Norman merchant Gilbert, surnamed

Becket, who had been portreeve of London. The future archbishop was educated at Merton Priory in Surrey, and later on studied in London and Paris. He was admitted to Archbishop Theobald's household and received minor orders. After holding various preferments he was appointed by Theobald to be Archdeacon of Canterbury. As chancellor he had co-operated with Henry in restoring order, and his intimacy with Henry was so marked that king and chancellor were said to be "of one heart and mind." The splendour of his attire and household contrasted with the rougher habits of the king. He figured prominently in the king's foreign expeditions, and archdeacon though he was, he carried on military operations both in Toulouse and on the Norman border. On the death of Theobald, Henry determined on Thomas as the new primate, hoping apparently to control State and Church through his chancellor-archbishop. In spite of the chancellor's warning that as archbishop he would forfeit the king's favour, Henry persisted, and under severe pressure from the royal ministers Thomas was elected by the monks of Canterbury. He was ordained priest, and on the following day consecrated bishop. Shortly after, to Henry's surprise, he resigned the chancellorship.

The archbishop threw himself into his new duties with characteristic ardour. In the midst of a licentious court his life had been steadfastly pure and religious, and the responsibilities of his high office now brought to light the deeper side of his nature. The outward pomp of his life was still maintained; while garbed in sackcloth covered by the black cloak of a monk, he ministered to the poor and needy, and set to his monks an example of an austere and religious life. His aim was to put down worldliness and immorality amongst the clergy; and to prevent future abuses, he refused to ordain persons whom he did not know to be of sound character and learning. At the same time he looked after the temporal interests of his see, claiming the restitution of estates which had been alienated by his predecessors. In 1163, for the first time since the Conquest, the royal demand for taxation met

with a successful opponent. Henry wished to increase his revenues by laying hands on a customary and quasi-voluntary payment made by the counties to the sheriffs in return for their services as administrators. Thomas refused to allow this, stating his willingness to make the payment to the sheriff if he did his duty, but insisting that the king himself had no right to levy it. In his resistance he upheld the cause of the whole country, and set an important constitutional precedent. The friendship between the king and archbishop, already weakened, was shattered by the controversy over the question of "criminous clerks."

4. Clerical Immunities.—The modern conception of a Government is that its primary duty is to enforce the law without consideration of persons. The mediæval conception, on the contrary, contemplated, not unity, but diversity of law. Every shire and town, every order of men, whether clergy, barons, or merchants, tried to obtain from the Crown a privileged position. The Crown itself held large tracts of country, the forests, which were under special laws. Moreover, it must be noted that in the time of Henry II. there was no coherent body of laws, and these immunities, in a sense, were the only safeguards against the arbitrary action of the Crown. The clerical exemptions were, therefore, a striking example of a widely spread system. But the increasing power and efficiency of the Government under Henry II. were accompanied by the gradual creation of a body of law based on the decisions of the Curia Regis, and this tended to conflict with all privileges which limited its action. In the Anglo-Saxon period the bishop had sat in the shire-court, and there decided spiritual cases; but William I. had put an end to this by ordering that spiritual cases should be tried by canon law in the bishop's court, hoping that the secular and ecclesiastical authorities would combine to enforce each other's decisions. Mutual jealousies prevented this. Moreover, since the Conquest the Canon Law had developed, and the fact that the jurisdiction of the Church courts extended not only to those who had taken monastic vows or had received any

of the orders of the Church, but also to the causes of widows and orphans and questions of marriages and wills, kept much legal business away from the secular courts, and diminished their revenues. The Church courts could not inflict any punishments involving the shedding of blood, and their penalties stood in marked contrast to the brutal mutilations inflicted by the royal judges for petty offences. "In short, the privileges for which Thomas contended transferred a large part of the people—and the most helpless part—from the bloody grasp of the king's courts to the milder jurisdiction of the bishop." (Freeman.) But the system was open to abuse, so that the king's judges could assert that in nine years a hundred murders had been committed with impunity. The difficulty could only be solved by statesmanship on both sides, but, unfortunately, it was not approached in that spirit.

5. The Constitutions of Clarendon (1164).—Henry now demanded that the bishops should confirm the "customs" in force under Henry I. On the advice of the archbishop they did so, "saving their order," but, later on, Thomas, misled by persons who pretended to have been sent by the Pope, withdrew his opposition. In 1164 a Great Council was held at Clarendon, and Henry ordered that the "customs" of Henry I. should be reduced to writing. The result was the Constitutions of Clarendon, which purport to be the outcome of a sworn enquiry by the whole of the Great Council, but which Thomas declared to be the work of De Lucy and a French lawyer. The most important clauses were :—

(1) A cleric accused of crime must come into the king's court to answer the charge. He was then to go to the Church court for trial, a secular official watching the case. On conviction the culprit was not to be protected by the Church any further (*i.e.* he was to be degraded by the bishop and punished as a layman).

(2) The chief clergy were not to leave the realm without the leave of the king.

(3) No tenant-in-chief was to be excommunicated without the king's leave.

(4) No appeal was to be carried to Rome without the king's consent.

(5) Laymen accused in the Church courts were to be confronted by legal accusers, and if these were not forthcoming, the sheriff was to cause twelve lawful men of the neighbourhood to swear to the facts in the presence of the bishop.

(6) Disputes between the clergy and laity as to the tenure of land were to be decided by twelve recognitors before the justiciar.

(7) Bishops and abbots were to be elected as arranged in 1107 (see p. 62).

Some of these clauses undoubtedly represented the practice aimed at by the Norman kings, but this could not be said of the first, while the fifth and sixth were part of the legal innovations of the reign. It is clear, therefore, that, under cover of enforcing the "customs" of his grandfather, Henry was trying to force on the clergy an acknowledgment that their rights, which in substance had always been recognised, had no valid basis. Thomas, after six days' discussion, withdrew his earlier verbal acceptance, and refused to set his seal to the Constitutions, contending that to accept them would be to run counter to the Common Law of Christendom.

Henry's irritation made him lose sight of the issues and descend to a policy of ignoble persecution. A Great Council was held at Northampton, and to this Thomas received not a direct summons as the first subject of the Crown, but a citation from the Sheriff of Kent, as was customary in the case of a lesser tenant-in-chief. He was fined £500 by the Council for refusing to plead in a lay court in a suit between himself and one of the king's servants, and this was followed by other heavy demands, culminating in the order for the production of the accounts of his eight years of chancellorship. Thomas fled to Louis VII., and appealed to Alexander III. at Sens. Henry confiscated the possessions of the See of Canterbury, and banished all the archbishop's relations and dependents. For six years Thomas remained in France, his fortunes varying

with the needs of Alexander, who could not afford to throw Henry on to the side of Frederick Barbarossa.

6. The Assize of Clarendon (1166); and the Inquest of Sheriffs (1170).—Henry now issued one of the greatest measures of his reign. At a date which cannot be precisely fixed, Henry, by the Great Assize, had applied the system of inquiry by sworn “recognitors” to disputes as to the ownership of land. Instead of the trial by battle, which the Normans had introduced, the dispute could, with the consent of the litigants, be settled before the royal judges by the unanimous oath of twelve knights of the neighbourhood. This procedure, which reappears in the Constitutions of Clarendon, was now utilised for criminal justice. By the Assize of Clarendon it was ordered that—

(1) Inquiries were to be held by twelve lawful men of the hundred and four from each township, as to whether there were in their neighbourhood any persons accused by report of being murderers, or robbers, or thieves, or receivers of such. The accused were to be presented to the itinerant judge or the sheriff, and were then to go to the ordeal by water. Failure to pass the ordeal was to be punished by the loss of a foot.

(2) All men were to attend the county courts and join in these presentations.

(3) No private jurisdiction was to exclude the itinerant judges. This was aimed at the rights of jurisdiction exercised by the barons.

In 1170 Henry struck another blow at feudal influences. The power of the sheriff had been greatly increased by the disappearance of the earl and bishop from the shire-court. The sheriff controlled the fyrd and the contingents of the lesser tenants-in-chief; he was still powerful in the towns, and he managed the finances of the shire. It was necessary to bring so powerful an official under the immediate control of the Government. In 1170 Henry suddenly returned from abroad and displaced all the sheriffs, issuing an inquiry into their conduct. Although apparently acquitted, they were replaced by officers of the Exchequer whom Henry could trust.

7. The Martyrdom of Archbishop Thomas.—Throughout these years the quarrel with Thomas showed little prospect of a settlement. Behind the cause of the archbishop all Henry's enemies tried to find opportunities for their animosities. Thomas brooded over his wrongs in exile, and refused all concessions as treason to the cause of the Church. The Pope tacitly declined to endorse the conduct of either the archbishop or the king. Matters were brought to a crisis by the coronation of the king's eldest son Henry by the Archbishop of York. This was a further invasion of the rights of the See of Canterbury, and was marred, in addition, by the omission to crown the young Henry's wife, the daughter of Louis VII. The king drew back when he realised his blunder, and made a vague peace with Thomas, leaving practically everything an open question. The return of the archbishop was a triumphal progress, but his action hastened on the catastrophe. Before the reconciliation, the Pope had at last taken the matter into his hands, and had excommunicated the bishops who had taken part in the coronation. As this struck Roger of York, Gilbert of London, and Joscelyn of Salisbury, the bishops planned to thwart it by seizing the papal letters as soon as Thomas landed. The archbishop met this by sending on the letters in advance, and when asked by the royal officers to remove the censures of the Church he refused absolution until the bishops made amends to him for the wrong they had done. The three bishops hurried to Normandy to lay their case before the king. Henry, in an outburst of passion, exclaimed, "What a parcel of fools and dastards have I nourished in my house that none of them can be found to avenge me on one upstart clerk." Four of his knights secretly left the court, crossed over to England, and on December 29, 1170, murdered the archbishop in the cathedral of Canterbury.

8. Popular Indignation.—The king had been prepared to take some severe measures against the archbishop, but it is impossible that he could have sanctioned this atrocity. The news of the action of his knights reduced him to despair, and

for three days he refused to speak with any one or to take food. The outburst of indignation throughout Europe showed him the danger he was in. To the people of England the archbishop had always appeared as the upholder of the cause of the oppressed. When the barons had threatened him at the Council of Northampton, he had been received with blessings by the crowd. And for this there was a deep reason. Great as were the ultimate results of the reforms in the procedure of justice which Henry was attempting, the lower orders as yet could only see the oppression and exactions which the changes entailed. The Assize of Clarendon, for instance, had carried extortion into every county. Thomas had died primarily for the liberties of the Church, but those liberties were the only shelter against the rapacity of the royal officers and the inhuman punishments of the secular law. To the English people, therefore, Thomas was their martyr in a special sense, and the flow of miracles, which began at once after his death, strengthened their belief. The canonisation of St. Thomas by the Pope, in 1173, set the seal of the Church's approval on the popular canonisation which had gone before.

9. The Expedition to Ireland (1171).—Early in his reign Henry had looked forward to the conquest of Ireland, and in 1155 he had obtained from the English Pope, Hadrian IV., the Bull *Laudabiliter*, granting Ireland to the English Crown. No attempt, however, was made to take advantage of the grant till sixteen years later. In 1166, Dermot Mac-Murrough, King of Leinster, who had been expelled by Roderick O'Connor, King of Connaught, applied to Henry for help, and after swearing fealty to Henry, obtained leave to enlist any of the king's servants to serve in Ireland. He obtained the services of Richard de Clare, Earl of Strigul (later known as Strongbow), a powerful baron on the South Welsh border, and of other adventurers. While Richard prepared his expedition, a number of knights crossed to Ireland and gained a series of victories. In 1170 Strongbow arrived, and was married to Dermot's daughter. Dublin was captured, but the invaders were hard pressed by an army of Northmen,

and by the Irish under Roderick O'Connor. As it was impossible for Henry to allow any of his barons to establish themselves in an independent position in Ireland, he forbade his subjects to meddle any further in Ireland. Shortly after Henry himself, anxious to be out of the way until he had made his peace with the Pope, came over with an army, and received the homage of the English adventurers and of the Irish chieftains. A council of the Irish Church was held at Cashel, and the bishops submitted to Henry, and agreed to introduce reforms. This enabled Henry to appear to the world as anxious for the welfare of the Church. Unfortunately for Ireland, Henry was now called away by the news that the papal legates were in Normandy, with powers to absolve him on condition of a complete submission on his part, and that, unless he hurried, his dominions would be laid under an interdict. He therefore returned to Normandy, made his submission to the legates, cleared himself by oath of complicity in the crime of his knights, and renounced the Constitutions of Clarendon. Meanwhile the good work which he had begun in Ireland fell to pieces. In 1177 he made his son John King of Ireland, but a fruitless expedition left the country in a worse state than before. Henry's interference, therefore, only began the unhappy policy by which England would neither rule Ireland nor allow the Irish to work out their own system of government.

10. The Rebellion of 1173-1174.—The humiliation of Henry now gave his enemies the opportunity for which they had waited so long. The king had alienated his wife, and his eldest son, the young King Henry, was offended to find that his coronation had brought him no real share of power. His demand for some portion of his inheritance was rejected by his father. The baronage had received from the king one long series of blows aimed at their feudal privileges. They chafed under the invasion of their jurisdictions by the royal judges and the exactions of the Exchequer officials. "Their castles had been taken from them, their franchises invaded, their military service exacted or money taken in commutation :

every advantage that the feudal obligation gave to the king he had used, but he had allowed them no liberty of tyranny in return." (Stubbs.)

In 1173 the young Henry fled to his father-in-law, Louis VII., where he was joined by his brothers Richard and Geoffrey, and a great Continental conspiracy against their father was formed. The struggle in France was short, for Henry's force of 10,000 mercenaries enabled him to defeat the coalition headed by Louis VII. The English part of the conspiracy was a more serious matter, for it comprised those barons who inherited the untamed feudal spirit. Hugh, Earl of Chester; Hugh Bigod, Earl of Norfolk; Robert, Earl of Leicester; Roger Mowbray and William of Aumale, were joined by William the Lion, King of Scotland, who received a promise of the cession of all the country north of the Tyne. Henry's cause was upheld by a few faithful barons of the first rank, but mainly by Richard de Lucy, who struck the first blow by capturing the town of Leicester. He then, in company with Humphrey Bohun the Constable, advanced on Berwick, driving the Scots, who had been ravaging the north, across the border. He was recalled by the news that the Earl of Leicester had landed in Suffolk with a force of Flemish mercenaries. Bohun, however, with a small body of troops, attacked Leicester and defeated his army. The earl was captured, and 10,000 Flemings were slain. Leicester was sent to Normandy, and was imprisoned at Falaise in company with his fellow conspirator Hugh of Chester.

Early in 1174 William the Lion invaded England. The collapse of Henry's power seemed imminent. The royal castles of Northampton, Nottingham, and Norwich were seized by the rebels, while a great fleet gathered at Gravelines, and threatened England with invasion. The crisis caused Henry to leave for the moment his Continental realms to their fate, while he sailed for England, taking his prisoners with him. Landing at Southampton, he pushed on to Canterbury, where he did penance before the martyr's tomb. This was immediately followed by the news of the crushing defeat of his

enemies. The people of the north had rallied round the king's officers, the Scots had been taken by surprise at Alnwick, and King William with his chieftains had been made prisoners. Louis VII. at once gave up the projected invasion, and the fleet dispersed. The rebellion immediately collapsed, the rebel earls submitting in rapid succession. Peace was made with Scotland at Falaise; William acknowledged that he and his successors held Scotland as vassals of the English kings. Henry's treatment of his rebellious barons was marked by great leniency. He contented himself with the levy of fines and the destruction of some of their castles. By the terms of the treaty with Louis VII. a general amnesty was agreed upon. Thus ended the last feudal struggle on English soil.

11. Henry's Last Reforms.—Henry now stayed two years in England, and restored once more the working of the administration. In 1176 he issued the Assize of Northampton, which renewed the Assize of Clarendon and extended its procedure to accusations of forgery and arson. It also increased the penalty for failure to pass the ordeal. In 1178 he chose five of his own servants to form a court of appeal, reserving, however, the hardest cases for his own hearing in council. This measure marked an important stage in the development of the Court of Common Pleas as a distinct part of a central judicial system. In 1181 the Assize of Arms reorganised the fyrd, which, as had been proved in the recent rebellion, was a most efficient weapon against the feudal party. Every freeman was ordered to arm himself according to his means, and this obligation was fixed on a graduated system.

12. The Rebellious Sons.—For the rest of the reign Henry's work lay in France, and his chief troubles sprang from the undutiful conduct of his sons and the consequent interference of the French king. In 1180 Louis VII. was succeeded by his son Philip Augustus, who, twenty-four years later, was to strike down the great Angevin Empire which Henry had built up with so much labour. The quarrels of the three brothers, Henry, Richard, and Geoffrey, with their father and with each other, kept Henry's Continental possessions in

a state of unrest. The young Henry was already designated heir to Normandy and Anjou; Richard was given the Duchy of Aquitaine, while Geoffrey was provided for by his marriage with Constance, heiress of Brittany. In neither Aquitaine nor Brittany was peace preserved, and Henry's demand that the two brothers should do homage to their eldest brother met with a passionate refusal. The nobles of Aquitaine revolted against the stern rule of Richard, while Geoffrey was equally unpopular in Brittany. The death of the young Henry in 1183, and of Geoffrey in 1186, left Richard heir to the Angevin Empire.

In 1187 Christendom was startled by the news that the Latin kingdom of Jerusalem had succumbed to the Saracens. Saladin was in possession of Jerusalem itself. The Latin kingdom had largely depended for its existence on the disunion of the Turks, but the Infidels had now been united into a great empire by Saladin. In 1185 Heraclius, Patriarch of Jerusalem, had visited England to beseech Henry to succour Baldwin IV.; but Henry, acting on the advice of his barons, had refused. Baldwin and his successor were now dead, and the crown of Jerusalem had devolved upon Guy of Lusignan, who was defeated at a great battle at Tiberias in 1187. Three months later Jerusalem fell. The Pope, Gregory VIII., appealed to western Christendom to rescue the Holy Places, and both the kings of England and France took the Cross. Richard of Aquitaine was eager to start at once. Henry ordered the collection of the "Saladin Tithe"—a tax of ten per cent. on personal property—a source of wealth which hitherto had not been laid under contribution.

Henry's share in the Crusade was prevented by the renewal of the quarrel between himself on the one hand, and Philip and Richard on the other. In 1189 Philip and Richard invaded Maine, while Henry shut himself up in le Mans, the town of his birth. Philip's advance forced him to retreat precipitately. Henry then made a final effort and marched on Tours, only to see the town taken before his eyes. Racked by illness he was compelled to accept any terms which Philip

and Richard chose to impose upon him. As part of his humiliation, Richard was to receive the homage of all the barons of the Angevin dominions, and Richard's partisans in the late struggle were to be released from their obligations to Henry. The king asked for a list of those vassals whose services he was to lose, and the first name was that of his favourite son John. Henry's iron will gave way under this accumulation of sorrows and disasters. He turned his face to the wall, crying, "Let things go now as they will; I care no more for myself or for the world." He lingered on for a few days at Chinon, whither he had been carried. At his own request they bore him into the chapel of the castle where with great devotion he made his confession and received the last consolations of the Church. He died immediately after.

CHIEF EVENTS.

	A. D.
The Great Scutage	1159.
Constitutions of Clarendon	1164.
Assize of Clarendon	1166.
Martyrdom of St. Thomas	1170.
The last feudal rebellion	1174.
Assize of Northampton	1176.
Assize of Arms	1181.

CHAPTER XII.

RICHARD I. (1189-1199); JOHN (1199-1216).

1. Richard's Accession.—The whole of the Angevin dominions now passed to a prince whose chief aim was renown in war. Richard only spent six months in England during the whole of his reign. But this did not prove disadvantageous, for the government was carried on in his absence by sound administrators, trained in the methods of Henry II., and for England, therefore, the reign is a period of steady constitutional development.

As soon as his election and coronation were over, Richard, who had taken the Cross in 1187, used every means to raise money. The great offices of State, as was customary at the time, were put up for sale. William Longchamp paid £3,000 for the Chancellorship, while Hugh Puiset, Bishop of Durham, bought the earldom of Northumberland. William of Scotland was released from the duty of doing homage imposed by the treaty of Falaise on paying 10,000 marks. To keep John quiet, Richard gave him the county of Mortain, the chief barony of Normandy, and large grants of estates in England, including the government of Cornwall, Devon, and Dorset.

2. The Rule of Longchamp.—Richard had appointed Hugh Puiset, Bishop of Durham, to be justiciar, but he gave such wide powers to William Longchamp as to make the latter practically equal to the justiciar. Early in 1190 Longchamp displaced Hugh Puiset in the justiciarship, and as he was shortly after made papal legate, he ruled supreme in Church and State. But the justiciar soon roused the hatred of all parties. He had no knowledge of England, and he

repaid with contempt the aversion he aroused. But he was a loyal servant of the king, and Richard, like his father, clung to those to whom he had once given his confidence. Secure in the royal favour, William would have maintained his position, but for the intervention of John. Richard had exacted an oath of John to leave England for three years, but before leaving for the Crusade he had released John from the obligation. John therefore returned at once to England and organised the opposition against the justiciar. In 1191 Longchamp brought matters to a crisis by arresting Geoffrey, illegitimate son of Henry II., who had been nominated to the Archbishopric of York, but had promised, like John, to keep out of England. All parties combined against Longchamp in resenting the outrage. A great council of barons was held at London and Longchamp was deposed from his offices of State. Walter of Coutances, Archbishop of Rouen, who had been sent by Richard with power to act as need dictated, succeeded Longchamp as justiciar.

3. The Third Crusade (1189-1192).—Richard's conduct during the Crusade was in keeping with his character, for it was marked on the one hand by brilliant feats of arms, and on the other by a complete disregard of statesmanship. The Third Crusade was joined by three sovereigns, the Emperor Frederic Barbarossa, Richard I., and Philip Augustus. The emperor, leading his forces through the Eastern Empire of Asia Minor, lost the greater part of his army on the journey, and was drowned while fording a river in Cilicia (1190). Richard and Philip spent the winter at Messina, where the seeds were sown of that mutual jealousy, which more than any other cause wrecked the Third Crusade. Richard was joined by his mother, Eleanor, and by Berengaria of Navarre, to whom he was now betrothed, thus breaking his engagement to marry Philip's sister Alice. He left Sicily early in 1191, and sailing to Cyprus, conquered that island from its ruler. Isaac Comnenos, who had maltreated some English sailors. Thence he embarked for Palestine, and joined Philip at Acre.

The town of Acre had been besieged by the Christians for two years, but the besiegers themselves were in their turn hemmed by an immense army under Saladin. The arrival of Philip and Richard turned the scale in favour of the Christians, and Acre fell. Unfortunately, Richard's prowess had already roused the jealousy of the other leaders of the Crusade. He quarrelled with Leopold, Duke of Austria, and further angered his colleagues by supporting Guy of Lusignan, who held the kingdom of Jerusalem in right of his wife Sibyl, niece of Baldwin III. Conrad of Montferrat, the rival claimant, was supported by Philip and the other leaders. Philip therefore returned home, leaving Richard to carry on the struggle. The English king continued his career of victory. He defeated Saladin at the battle of Arsouf, and captured the important seaport of Ascalon (1192). Twice he led his troops within a few miles of Jerusalem, but realising that, surrounded as he was in Palestine by treacherous colleagues, and that, threatened by the intrigues of Philip and John in France and England, success was impossible, he negotiated a truce for three years with Saladin, and left Palestine. By the truce he secured to the Christians the right of free access to Jerusalem. As Conrad of Montferrat had been assassinated, the titular crown of Jerusalem was given to Henry of Champagne, and Richard compensated Guy of Lusignan by the gift of Cyprus.

Richard now left his troops under the leadership of Hubert Walter, Bishop of Salisbury, and sailing from Palestine, landed with a few followers at the head of the Adriatic. While trying to penetrate in disguise through Germany, he was arrested by his enemy, Duke Leopold of Austria, and was handed over as a prisoner to the Emperor Henry VI. Philip and John at once combined to reap advantage from this disaster, and John, in return for a promise of French support in seizing the English Crown, agreed to do homage for his brother's Continental dominions and make territorial cessions. At the same time, on the plea that Richard was dead, he demanded an oath of homage from the heads of the government in England. Both Normandy and England remained loyal to Richard, and this,

together with the powerful influence of Queen Eleanor, frustrated John's treacherous schemes. In spite of the intrigues of Philip and John to prolong his captivity, the king was released by Henry VI. in 1194, on the promise of a ransom of 150,000 marks. After remaining in England two months, he left for Normandy to prosecute his quarrel with Philip. John, as a traitor, was stripped of his possessions, but was pardoned on making his submission.

4. The Rule of Hubert Walter.—The government during the king's absence was entrusted to Hubert Walter, who was appointed justiciar. He was nephew and pupil of Glanvill, the great lawyer and minister of Henry II., and he had accompanied Richard to Palestine, where he had distinguished himself by his zeal in relieving the needs of the poorer crusaders. On his return from the Holy Land, he was raised to the Archbishopric of Canterbury. He was an upright statesman, and of great ability, both as diplomatist and financier. For four years (1194–1198) his rule gave peace and good government to the country. One of his first measures was a series of instructions to the itinerant judges, known as the *Iter* of 1194. By these the selection of the jury for the presentment of criminals was entrusted to four knights from each shire, and new officials, later on called Coroners, were ordered to be elected in the shire, to keep the Pleas of the Crown, a further step in carrying out the policy of weakening the sheriffs, which Henry II. had begun in 1170. In 1195 Hubert ordered an oath of allegiance to be taken by all over fifteen years of age, and this was to be enforced by knights assigned for the purpose; to this measure is traced the origin of the later office of Justice of the Peace. In 1198 a great survey was ordered for the assessment of a Carucage, the Danegeld under a new name, and for this assessment juries were to be employed. All these measures were primarily directed towards furnishing funds to meet Richard's incessant demands for money, but incidentally they led to the development of the practice of representation and election, and thus paved the way for the constitutional growth of the following century. In 1198 the proof that England

could not be arbitrarily governed was furnished by the opposition of Hugh, the saintly Bishop of Lincoln, to Hubert's demand that the barons should furnish the king with three hundred knights, to serve for a year abroad. The opposition was successful, and shortly after Hubert, at the command of Pope Innocent III., resigned the justiciarship. He was succeeded by his subordinate, Geoffrey Fitz-Peter.

5. Richard and Philip Augustus.—The last six years of Richard's life were spent in the attempt to take vengeance on Philip, and to prevent the increasing consolidation of the French royal power, which was building up a national monarchy out of a number of feudal provinces. But the Angevin inheritance, great as it was in extent, had no centre to which its scattered territories could look, while the French kings had in Paris a centre for national aims and aspirations. Nevertheless, although Richard was fighting for a losing cause, he managed to hold his own against his rival. The great castle, Château Gaillard, which he had built on the banks of the Seine, secured the approach to Normandy against attack from the direction of Paris. The war with Philip was, however, a war of sieges and truces, and was not marked by any great exploits. On the whole, Richard more than maintained his position; but his death in the midst of a petty expedition to capture some treasure-trove seized by his vassal, the lord of Chaluz, rendered inevitable the destruction of the Angevin inheritance.

6. The Accession of John (1199).—The death of Richard left two claimants to the Angevin dominions, Arthur, son of Geoffrey of Brittany, and John, the youngest son of Henry II. As Arthur was a boy of twelve, the choice of the barons fell on John. Archbishop Hubert was sent by John to England to negotiate for his election, and at a meeting at Northampton the barons, after receiving from Hubert the promises of good government, which John had authorised him to make, unanimously accepted John as their king. At John's coronation, the archbishop solemnly declared that no man had any antecedent right to the succession, unless he had been chosen by the whole realm, and he added that John had been elected as

the member of the royal family best fitted for the position. He adjured John not to accept the Crown unless he intended to keep his coronation oath. John took the accustomed oath, but it was noted that he did not communicate at his coronation, as was the custom. He had, indeed, abstained from the practices of religion since manhood.

On the Continent John's position was much less secure. Arthur was chosen by the barons of Anjou, Touraine, and Maine, and did homage to Philip for his possessions. The aged Queen Eleanor, however, conquered Anjou for John, and secured Aquitaine by herself doing homage to Philip. John, after re-appointing Fitz-Peter to be justiciar, and giving the chancellorship to Archbishop Hubert, hurried back to Normandy to settle matters with the French king. After a brief campaign, Philip, threatened by Innocent III. with an interdict for infidelity to his wife, and seeing the danger of a coalition between John and the Emperor Otto IV., agreed to a peace, and recognised John as heir of Richard's dominions. John, with characteristic levity, repudiated his wife, Avice of Gloucester, and married Isabella of Angoulême, the destined bride of Hugh de la Marche, of the house of Lusignan. He thus roused the hostility of a powerful section of the barons, both in England and Aquitaine.

7. The Loss of Normandy.—The growing unpopularity of John stimulated Philip's ambitious schemes. John had insulted the barons of Poitou by a summons to clear themselves of a charge of treason. Instigated by the Lusignans, they appealed to Philip as John's overlord. Philip cited John to appear in Paris to answer the charges laid against him, and as John refused to come, the French peers condemned him by default, and declared his French possessions forfeited to the Crown. Philip at once undertook the execution of the sentence and invaded Normandy, while Arthur besieged his grandmother, the aged Queen Eleanor, in the castle of Mirabeau, on the borders of Poitou. John hurried to the relief of his mother, and captured Arthur, who was imprisoned at Rouen, and secretly murdered (1203). The horror which this crime

evoked made John's cause hopeless. No attempt was made to bring him to trial for the murder, but the forfeiture already decreed was rapidly enforced. Town after town in Normandy surrendered to Philip, while John lay in idle despondency at Rouen. Philip laid siege to Château Gaillard, and John, after one futile attempt to relieve his last great stronghold, left Normandy to its fate. The castle fell in 1204, and with it the last hope of retaining the Continental possessions of the English Crown north of the Loire. Normandy, Maine, Anjou, and Touraine rapidly submitted to Philip, and renounced a king who could neither rule nor defend them. The greater part of Aquitaine still acknowledged John, not from any sense of loyalty, but because, differing in manners and language from northern France, it preferred the rule of a king too far off to control them to that of a strong king near at hand.

8. John's Quarrel with the Church.—The death of Queen Eleanor in 1204 had deprived John of his wisest counsellor, and the death of Archbishop Hubert in 1205 now drew him into a contest with the Church. The right of electing the Archbishop of Canterbury belonged to the monks of Canterbury, but a claim to a concurrent voice was put forward by the Crown and by the bishops of the province of Canterbury. To make sure of their rights some of the junior monks secretly chose their subprior Reginald, and sent him to Rome. John had wished to appoint John de Grey, Bishop of Norwich, and the irregularity of the proceedings of the junior monks caused all parties interested in the election to appeal to Rome. John meanwhile procured the election of his nominee, and installed him in office. Innocent, after a trial lasting a year, confirmed the electoral rights of the monks, but set aside Reginald as improperly elected and John de Grey as chosen while the appeal was impending. As sixteen representatives of the monks, armed with full powers, were at the papal court, Innocent procured from them the election of Stephen Langton. John refused to accept Stephen, and expelled the monks of Canterbury, and the Pope, therefore, laid England under an interdict (1208). John treated this with scorn, and retorted

by seizing the property of all ecclesiastics who obeyed it. In 1209 John was personally excommunicated, and he thereupon outlawed the clergy and confiscated the estates of the bishops. With the money thus obtained he raised an army, and marching north he forced William the Lion to do homage to him, thus reversing the arrangement made by Richard in 1190. In 1210 he passed over to Ireland at the head of a large expedition. He compelled the Irish princes to acknowledge him, and he introduced order into the English province, or Pale, by dividing it into counties. He ordered that English laws should be observed, and appointed John de Grey as governor. In 1211 he extorted the submission of Llewellyn of Wales.

Hitherto the king had defied the Pope with apparent impunity, although from time to time he opened negotiations with Innocent and Langton. In 1211 Innocent declared John deposed, and invited Philip to drive him from the throne. Philip collected an army at the mouth of the Seine, and John gathered a large fleet at Portsmouth to resist invasion. But he had alienated the loyalty of his subjects by his cruelty, immorality, and tyranny, and at the moment when to all appearances his position seemed secure, his courage gave way. In 1213 he met the papal legate at Dover, agreed to accept Langton, to indemnify the Church, and to hold England as a fief of the Holy See, paying an annual tribute of 1000 marks. By his submission John extricated himself from the danger of a French invasion. Pandulph warned Philip not to proceed with his expedition. The French king angrily denounced the policy of the Pope, but he did not feel strong enough to disregard the prohibition, and therefore turned his forces against the Count of Flanders. John sent his fleet to attack the French fleet lying off the port of Damme, and by inflicting a crushing defeat on Philip, destroyed all projects of an invasion of England.

9. John's Quarrel with the Barons.—During these thirteen years of the reign of John a national resistance had been slowly maturing. His coronation promises had been scornfully disregarded; his rule had been both tyrannical and

disastrous. The old taxes, such as scutage and feudal aids, had been largely increased, and the latest financial expedient, the tax on moveables, had been specially abused. All the feudal exactions dear to William II. and Flambard had been renewed and intensified. John had alienated the barons by his loss of Normandy and Anjou, and by his vindictive conduct towards them. For eight years the religious life of the country had been paralysed by the contest with Innocent III. Crafty, suspicious, and immoral, John had outraged every national interest, whether spiritual or temporal. In 1199 the country had been prosperous under a well ordered government; in 1213 it lay at the mercy of a despotism worse than that of William II., because the reforms of Henry II. had made the Crown more powerful for evil as well as for good.

Elated by his victory at Damme, John now proposed a new expedition to reconquer his lost dominions. The barons of the north flatly refused to serve, pleading that their tenures did not bind them to foreign service. John's attempt to punish the barons was frustrated by Langton, who threatened to excommunicate any of the king's followers who attacked them. Meanwhile, two important meetings of the Magnum Concilium had been held. The first assembled at St. Albans to assess the damages due to the Church, and it was attended not only by the barons but by the reeve and four men from the townships on the royal estates. The justiciar Fitz-Peter laid before the assembly John's recent promise of good government, and ordered that the laws of Henry I. should be observed. Three weeks later the second meeting took place at St. Paul's in London. Here Langton produced the Charter of Henry I., and it was at once seen to contain a suitable basis for a wider scheme of reform. Fitz-Peter died shortly after presenting the demands of the assembly to John, and Peter des Roches, the Poitevin Bishop of Winchester, was appointed to succeed him. Fitz-Peter had exercised a restraining influence on the king, but in Peter des Roches John had a pliant minister whom he could bend to his purposes.

In 1214 an army, led by the Earl of Salisbury and

composed mainly of mercenaries, was sent to invade France from the east, and to act in conjunction with the forces of the Emperor Otto and the Count of Flanders. John meanwhile carried on a futile campaign in Poitou. The allied expedition was a disastrous failure, and this reacted most powerfully on English politics. The emperor, with his English and Flemish allies, encountered the French at Bouvines, near Tournay, and an overwhelming defeat shattered the coalition. John made a truce for five years with Philip and returned to England.

During the king's absence the barons met at Bury St. Edmund's, and solemnly vowed to renounce their allegiance unless John granted them a Charter confirming their rights. Early in 1215 the barons assembled in London and presented a list of their demands. John promised a definite answer at Easter, but he only used the interval to strengthen his position by fortifying his castles, and by trying to detach the bishops from the barons by guaranteeing to the Church the free exercise of the right of appointing bishops. Further to protect himself he took the Cross, and sent to Innocent imploring help; the barons also appealed to the Pope as their feudal superior. The Pope replied by condemning the action of the barons, but promised to obtain from John all that they could reasonably ask. By this time, however, the hour for negotiations had passed. John angrily refused to consider the baronial demands, and the barons, having appointed Robert Fitz-Walter as leader of the "Army of God and Holy Church," marched on London, where they were warmly received by the citizens. John was rapidly deserted by the small number of barons who had remained with him, and powerless to resist, met the barons at Runnymede on June 15, and set his seal to the Great Charter.

10. Magna Carta.—The Charter contains sixty-three clauses, which may be grouped as follows:—

(a) **The Church.**—The liberties and rights of the Church are to be maintained unimpaired, and the right of election is expressly guaranteed.

(b) **Feudal Obligations.**—Feudal payments, such as

reliefs, are definitely fixed. Guardians are only to take reasonable profits without damage to the ward's estate. Heirs and heiresses are not to be given in marriage without the knowledge of their relations. No tenant is to be compelled to perform any service to which he is not bound by his tenure. These privileges which the barons secure for themselves are to be extended to their tenants.

(c) **Taxation.**—No scutage or extraordinary aid is to be levied except "per commune consilium regni." To obtain this common council the king is to summon a gathering of all tenants-in-chief, the greater barons receiving each a special summons, and the lesser a general summons through the sheriff. Merchants are not to be subjected to arbitrary exactions, and purveyance is forbidden.

(d) **Justice.**—No freeman is to be imprisoned, outlawed, deprived of his property, or exiled, except by the lawful judgment of his equals and the law of the land. Justice is not to be sold, denied, or delayed. Common pleas, *i.e.* private suits, are to be heard at a fixed place. (This prevented the expense caused to private suitors by the law courts following the king or the justiciar.) The royal judges are to hold the assizes in the counties four times a year. Fines are to be proportionate to the offence and the property of the offender.

(e) **Miscellaneous.**—A number of clauses deal with the rights of London and other towns, weights and measures, debts to the Jews, and the forest laws, etc.

11. The Last Years of John.—The carrying out of the Charter was entrusted to twenty-four barons, empowered to make war on the king if he broke the Charter and refused redress. But John had every intention of shaking off control as soon as it was safe to do so. While he sent messengers to Flanders and France to hire mercenaries, he applied to the Pope to release him from concessions which he pleaded were injurious to Innocent as overlord of England. The Pope annulled the Charter as having been obtained in defiance of the Holy See, and ordered Langton to excommunicate all who disturbed the peace of the kingdom. Langton at once set out

for Rome to confer with the Pope, but was suspended by Innocent from the exercise of his functions. Meanwhile, John was busy collecting troops and winning over those of the barons whose loyalty to the popular cause had been shaken. He was soon strong enough to order the estates of his enemies to be laid waste. In all directions flaming towns and villages marked the progress of the royal forces. In despair the barons offered the Crown to Louis, eldest son of Philip of France. The offer was accepted, and in the spring of 1216 Louis landed at Sandwich and hastened to London. The counties near London submitted to Louis, and Lincolnshire and Yorkshire declared in his favour. But in spite of these successes John's position was still formidable. The barons failed in their attempt to take Dover and Windsor, while John led a successful expedition which reached as far north as Lincoln. As, however, the royal army was crossing the Wash the tide swept away the baggage and treasure waggons. This last blow threw John into a state of prostration, and worn out by fatigue and fever, and by a life of excess, he died at Newark (1216).

CHIEF EVENTS.

	A.D
Deposition of Longchamp	1190.
Richard in Palestine	1191, 1192.
Richard ransomed	1194.
Loss of Normandy	1204.
Death of Hubert Walter	1205.
The Interdict	1208.
John's submission to Innocent III.	1213.
Magna Carta	1215.

CHAPTER XIII.

HENRY III. (1216-1272).

1. The Minority.—The death of John soon rendered the position of Louis untenable. His summons to England had been dictated by the desperate straits in which the barons had found themselves, but they had not been long in seeing the risks they were incurring in inviting a foreign prince to rule over them. A strong section of the barons adhered to John's son Henry, a child of nine, who was forthwith crowned at Gloucester, and found powerful supporters in William Marshall, Earl of Pembroke, and in Gualo, the papal legate. The death of Innocent III. had made it possible to reopen the question of the Great Charter, and the oath of fealty taken to the new Pope, Honorius III., by the young king showed that the feudal relation, established in 1213, between England and Rome remained intact. The loyal barons had therefore no difficulty in establishing Henry's claim, and under the wise guidance of William Marshall, whom they appointed "rector regis et regni," a policy of appeasement was begun. The Great Charter was reissued, omitting, however, the clauses which dealt with the grant of scutages and extraordinary aids, the forests, and the Jews; but in doing so the Government drew attention to the omissions, and promised that everything should be amended when further counsel could be had.

Throughout 1217 the disaffected barons in increasing numbers deserted the cause of Louis. The French prince was still secure in the south-eastern counties, but his adherents were defeated at Lincoln by the regent; and, shortly after, a fleet bringing reinforcements from France was destroyed by Hubert

de Burgh, off Dover. The royal forces now converged on London, and Louis was compelled to offer terms. By the Treaty of Lambeth, a general amnesty was proclaimed; Louis was repaid the expenses in which he had been involved, and was released by Gualo from the excommunication which he had incurred by invading England, the fief of the Holy See. The peace was crowned by the second reissue of the Great Charter, together with the Charter of the Forests. The important taxation clause was, however, not reinserted.

2. The Rule of Hubert de Burgh (1219-1227).—In 1219 the wise rule of William Marshall was brought to a close by his death. No regent was appointed to succeed him, but Hubert de Burgh the justiciar became supreme in the Government. Hubert was soon drawn into a struggle by his determination to weaken the barons, English and foreign, who during the recent troubles had obtained possession of the royal castles. In this he was hampered by the opposition of Peter des Roches, the personal guardian of the young king, who was the secret leader of the foreign party. Hubert was, however, successful. The Earl of Aumale was compelled to yield, and Falkes de Breauté, a Norman adventurer of the worst type, who had won the favour of John, was summarily crushed. For the time being the foreign party was reduced to insignificance, and Peter des Roches, recognising this, joined the Crusade.

In 1227 Henry declared himself of age, but Hubert continued in office till 1232. Hubert had throughout opposed all schemes of aggression against France as tending to exhaust England and throw the country back into foreign entanglements, from which the loss of Normandy had released her to a great extent. The failure of an expedition against France was ascribed to him, and the return of his enemy Peter des Roches was followed by his dismissal. He was tried on a long series of charges, and condemned to forfeiture and imprisonment.

3. Rule of Peter des Roches (1232-1234).—Hubert's rival now controlled both king and kingdom, and the usual results of the rule of a foreigner followed. English officials were displaced in favour of Bretons and Poitevins, and the

good work of William Marshall and Hubert de Burgh was in danger of being undone. In 1233 the English barons, led by Richard Marshall, Earl of Pembroke, threatened Henry with deposition if his foreign courtiers were not dismissed. Peter denounced Richard as a traitor, and a short civil war followed. Henry was defeated at Monmouth, and Richard, in league with Llewellyn of Wales, drove the king from Gloucester. The bishops had throughout sided with the barons, and the new archbishop, Edmund Rich, threatened Henry with excommunication if he did not get rid of his evil advisers. Peter des Roches was dismissed, but before he fell Richard Marshall had been lured over to Ireland to defend the estates of his house, and had been treacherously killed.

4. Henry's Personal Rule.—Twenty-four years of misgovernment now followed. Properly qualified ministers were not appointed, and the government was carried on by clerks, subservient to the royal will. In 1236 Henry married Eleanor of Provence, and the country was placed at the mercy of foreign favourites, the relations of the king's mother and wife. The barons were without a strong leader, for Simon de Montfort, who now comes to the front, had married Henry's sister Eleanor, the widow of William Marshall, and was looked on by the English barons as a foreign adventurer bound to the royal interests. But in 1239 Henry quarrelled with de Montfort, and the latter left England.

Henry's foreign policy was wholly unsuccessful, and his attempts to regain his lost possessions in France only increased his burden of indebtedness. In 1242 he led an expedition to recover Poitou which failed ignominiously and ended in his surrender of all claims to the country. In 1248 de Montfort was appointed to govern Gascony, but he found himself constantly thwarted by Henry's interference, and after ruling for eight years retired to the estates of his earldom of Leicester. In 1254 Henry crossed to Gascony to put down the disturbances, but returned a year later more hopelessly in debt than ever.

5. Papal Exactions.—Henry III. owed his throne to papal support, and the Popes used their authority over him

unsparingly. The new feudal relation to the Holy See, created by John's submission, gave the papacy the right to levy taxes on the country, and the result was a series of heavy exactions from the laity and clergy, which strained the loyalty of England. In the long struggle with the Emperor Frederick II., the papacy was forced to have recourse to most dangerous expedients for raising money, and these caused bitter complaints to be brought against the Pope. In 1237 Cardinal Otto was sent as legate to England, to extort money from the clergy, and to suspend the right of nominating to livings which was enjoyed by private patrons. In 1240 a demand was presented to Edmund Rich, Archbishop of Canterbury, that until provision had been made for three hundred Italian clerks, no preferment should be given to Englishmen. The saintly archbishop was broken-hearted by the struggle to defend his people from the exactions of the legate, and retired to Pontigny, where he died a few months later. Cardinal Otto left England in 1241, carrying with him enormous sums of money. Still the needs of the papacy continued, and a new legate, Master Martin, arrived in 1244 to raise money from the English Church. The demands were met by strong opposition, and in 1245, at the Great Council of Lyons, a letter was sent to Innocent IV., setting forth the grievous injuries inflicted on the country by these perpetual demands for money, and by the intrusion of alien clergy into English benefices. Grosseteste, Bishop of Lincoln, while insisting on his loyalty to the Holy See, refused to confer a canonry on the Pope's nominee, whom he considered unfit. "It is well known," he wrote, "that I am ready to obey apostolical commands with filial affection, and all devotion and reverence, but to those things which are opposed to apostolic commands, I, in my zeal for the honour of my parent, am also opposed."

6. The Sicilian Crown.—Henry III. had kept out of the struggle between the papacy and the empire until after the death of his brother-in-law, the Emperor Frederick II. (1250). But in 1254 he accepted from Pope Innocent IV. the kingdom of Sicily and Naples for his second son Edmund. The

country had been held by Frederick II. as a fief of the Holy See, and his rights had been declared forfeited on account of his opposition to the Pope. On the emperor's death, his illegitimate son Manfred had ruled Sicily, and he refused to recognise the claim of Edmund. Pope Alexander IV., who had succeeded Innocent IV., carried on the struggle on behalf of Edmund, and at the expense of Henry, his father. In 1257 a papal envoy came to England, and demanded 135,000 marks in repayment of the costs incurred by the Pope.

7. The Provisions of Oxford (1258).—The disastrous consequences of twenty-four years of personal rule now produced the great crisis of the reign. The barons had at last found a leader in Simon de Montfort. Henry met the barons in Westminster, and explained the results of his Sicilian policy. His demand for an aid was refused, and he had to place himself unreservedly in the hands of the barons. Shortly after, the "Mad Parliament," as the king's partisans termed it, reassembled at Oxford, where the barons appeared in arms. A committee of twenty-four barons, half from the royal side, and half from the barons, had been already nominated to draw up reforms. Part of their scheme, known as the Provisions of Oxford, was the appointment of a permanent council of fifteen, to control the king's government, and to prevent him from breaking the charters. The great offices of State were filled up with the approval of the council. It was also provided that the fifteen councillors were to meet three times a year a body of twelve chosen by the barons, and the Parliament thus composed was to make laws and settle taxes. In this last proviso the oligarchical tendencies of the barons are made clear. The power which they had wrested from Henry, was to be wielded by a small circle of great barons; while the lesser tenants-in-chief were deprived of their customary right to attend the Magnum Concilium.

8. The Rule of the Barons.—The Government thus set up lasted till 1263, and during this period certain reforms were carried out. The aliens were expelled from the country, and peace was made with Wales, Scotland, and France. Henry

renounced his claims on Normandy, and did homage for Gascony. At home the mutual jealousies of the barons prevented the Government working smoothly. Earl Simon was opposed by Richard de Clare, Earl of Gloucester, the champion of the caste interests of the barons. In 1259 the lesser tenants-in-chief, who were now excluded from Parliament, complained that the barons were not carrying out the necessary reforms. The Government, therefore, issued the Provisions of Westminster, securing the lesser tenants from the oppression of their feudal lords. This was a victory for the party of liberal reform which de Montfort represented.

Henry himself, in the mean time, struggled to shake off a form of government which reduced his power to a shadow. In 1261 he repudiated his adhesion to the Provisions, and the Pope released him from his oath. He thus for the moment regained his hold on the Government. In 1262 Richard, Earl of Gloucester, died, and his heir, Gilbert, took the side of de Montfort. In 1263 de Montfort took up arms, and marched on London. Neither side was, however, for the moment, anxious to push matters to extremes, and it was therefore agreed to accept the arbitration of Louis IX. In 1264 Louis, by his award, the Mise of Amiens, annulled the Provisions of Oxford and Westminster as derogatory to the Crown. He expressly affirmed the king's right to appoint his ministers, and to employ aliens, but he added, that all liberties and privileges secured to the nation by charter or custom remained intact, and that on both sides attempts at reprisals and vengeance should be dropped.

9. The Rule of de Montfort.—The decision of Louis IX. was an attempt to restore matters to the position they were in before the barons wrested the power from Henry, and the French king no doubt hoped that Henry, profiting by the lesson he had learnt, would rule with greater wisdom. But de Montfort felt himself strong enough to repudiate the humiliating decision, and in spite of the fact that he was a party to the arbitration, refused to be bound by the verdict. The barons and the citizens of London flocked to his standard,

and Henry was defeated and captured at the battle of Lewes. By the Mise of Lewes the king was forced to re-confirm the Provisions, and to surrender his son Edward, and his nephew Henry, as hostages. It was agreed that the government should be carried on by nine councillors, chosen by three electors, of whom de Montfort was one. The councillors were to nominate ministers and officers of State.

In June, 1264, this scheme was sanctioned by a Parliament which was attended not only by barons and bishops but by four knights from each shire. Early in 1265 the famous Parliament was summoned, which for the first time contained representatives of both shires and boroughs. It is for this reason that de Montfort has been called the "founder of the House of Commons," a title, however, to which he is not wholly entitled. The representative principle as applied to Parliament was not new. In 1254 knights elected in the shire courts had been summoned to a Parliament at Westminster, and the same expedient had been adopted by both barons and Henry in 1261. Further, the Parliament of 1265 was not a national one, for it was only attended by those barons and bishops and by representatives of those districts in sympathy with de Montfort. Still it was de Montfort's great merit, that he abandoned the narrow policy of 1258, and at a great crisis, foreigner though he was, struck the true line along which the constitution must develop.

The new constitution was short-lived. De Montfort soon offended Gilbert de Clare, and the Gloucester faction combined with the Mortimers against the Government. Edward escaped from confinement, and joined the hostile coalition. Taking Henry with him, de Montfort marched west to attack the Mortimers in South Wales, while his son Simon occupied Kenilworth. Here the young Simon was attacked and routed by Edward, and de Montfort himself, advancing to Evesham, where he expected to be joined by his son, encountered the victorious army of the young prince. The great earl fell, fighting to the last.

10. The Triumph of Constitutional Principles.—

For the moment it seemed that the cause, for which de Montfort had contended, was irretrievably lost. Some of his adherents still held out at Kenilworth, and Edward meditated a policy of stern vengeance. But more moderate views prevailed, and by the Dictum de Kenilworth (1266) peace was arranged. The absolute power of the king and the nullity of de Montfort's acts were proclaimed, but the government was carried on wisely, and by the Parliament of Marlborough in 1267 many of the reforms of the "Mad Parliament" were permanently accepted. The country rapidly settled down, and with peace an era of prosperity set in. In 1270 Edward and many of the great barons joined the Crusade, and the prince was still abroad when Henry died, in 1272.

CHIEF EVENTS.

	A.D.
Treaty of Lambeth	1217.
Defeat of de Breauté	1224.
Fall of Hubert de Burgh	1232.
Mad Parliament	1288.
Mise of Amiens	1264.
Parliaments of de Montfort	1264, 1265.
Battle of Evesham	1265.

CHAPTER XIV.

EDWARD I. (1272-1307).

1. Edward's Accession.—So complete was the tranquillity of the country during the last years of Henry III. that Edward, though absent on the Crusade, was at once proclaimed king, and the government was carried on firmly by the three regents, the Archbishop of York, Roger Mortimer, and Robert Burnell, the future chancellor. Edward had left Palestine before his father's death, and received the news at Capua. After visiting his friend Pope Gregory X., he moved to Paris, where he did homage to the French king for his Continental possessions, and then organised the Government in Gascony. In the summer of 1274 he landed at Dover.

2. The Conquest of Wales.—The political condition of Wales was at this time not unlike that of Ireland. The southern part of the country was in the hands of the Lords Marchers, the great families of Mortimer, Bohun, Marshall, and Clare, who exercised almost sovereign jurisdiction as delegates of the English king; while in the north, outside the sphere of the Lords Marchers, the Welsh chieftains maintained a practical independence under their prince. Though nominally vassals of the English Crown, the Welsh princes constantly interfered in English politics to embarrass the Government. At his accession, Edward found North Wales ruled by Llewellyn ap Griffith, who had sided with de Montfort, and had been rewarded by the recognition of his independence. He had subsequently done homage to Henry III., but a demand for its renewal in 1273 was refused. In 1277 Edward detained Eleanor, Llewellyn's affianced bride, the daughter of de Montfort, and

followed this up by an attack on Wales. Llewellyn, blockaded in the north, was forced to submit, and surrendered all his lands, except the district round Snowdon. He did homage, and was allowed to marry Eleanor de Montfort. In 1282 Llewellyn and his brother David, who had hitherto supported Edward, rose in rebellion. Edward marched into North Wales, and, after a brave resistance, the rebellion was put down. Llewellyn was killed, and David, who had been captured, was tried at Shrewsbury and condemned to a cruel death. The reorganisation of Wales followed. By the Statute of Wales, 1284, the Government was remodelled on the English system. The country was divided into shires, and English law was introduced. A number of fortresses were built to keep the country in submission. The title of Prince of Wales was conferred by the king on his infant son Edward, who had been born at Carnarvon.

3. The Scottish Succession Question.—The relation of the kings of Scotland to the kings of England is one which has a perplexing history. Scotland, in the first place, did not contain a homogeneous nation, for it was divided into the Lowlands, where the people were mainly of English blood, and the Highlands, where the Celtic stock predominated. Many of the Scottish nobles were of Norman descent, and held lands in both countries. Moreover, two provinces of southern Scotland, Lothian and Scottish Cumberland, had been granted by Anglo-Saxon kings to the kings of Scotland. Since the Norman conquest the claim of the English Crown to overlordship had been persistently asserted, and recognition had been obtained by William I. and William II. The claim had been expressly conceded by William the Lion at the Treaty of Falaise, but Richard I. had released William for a money payment. Lastly, the question was complicated by the fact that the Scottish kings held estates in England, and it was not clear whether they did homage to the English king as kings of Scotland or as English nobles. Edward I. was anxious to settle the question finally by a marriage between his son Edward and Margaret the Maid of Norway, who was

the heiress of her grandfather, Alexandra III., but the death of the young queen frustrated his plans.

A large number of claimants to the Scottish Crown now came forward, but the decision clearly lay between the descendants of David, Earl of Huntingdon, brother of William the Lion. These were (1) John Balliol, grandson of Margaret, the eldest daughter of David; (2) Robert Bruce, son of Isabella, the second daughter; (3) John Hastings, grandson of Ada, the youngest daughter. At Norham the Scottish nobles submitted the case to Edward, and all three claimants formally recognised him as overlord of Scotland. A court of arbitration was set up, and in 1292, after a careful hearing, Edward decided in favour of Balliol, who at once did homage.

Balliol soon found that Edward regarded his overlordship as a substantial authority to which aggrieved suitors in Scotland could appeal, in the same way as the Poitevins had appealed against John to Philip Augustus. Balliol was therefore summoned to defend a decision of the Scottish courts, a summons which he answered in person, but only to deny Edward's appellate jurisdiction. The Scots now turned for help to France. An informal warfare had been raging for some time between French sailors on the one hand, and English and Gascons on the other; and in 1293 this culminated in a pitched battle, in which the French were defeated with great loss of life. Philip IV., surnamed "the Fair," summoned Edward to Paris to answer as Duke of Aquitaine for the conduct of his Gascon subjects, and on Edward refusing to appear, his duchy was declared forfeited. In 1294, to avoid a war, Edward agreed to a temporary surrender of his Gascon fortresses as a sign of submission, but Philip refused to return them at the end of the six weeks as had been stipulated, and Edward was compelled to have recourse to arms. Philip at once concluded an alliance with Scotland.

4. The Model Parliament (1295).—At this grave crisis in his fortunes, Edward appealed to the support of the whole nation, and summoned a Parliament more completely representative than any called together hitherto. The development

of the representative system in the thirteenth century had been marked by checks as well as by progress, for it had to compete with the tendency, which showed itself so clearly in 1258, to narrow the Magnum Concilium from a gathering of greater and lesser tenants-in-chief down to a small circle of great barons and officials. The victory of the representative principle in the two Parliaments of de Montfort, in 1264 and 1265, temporarily prejudiced its success, for we have no record of the presence of representatives in Parliament from 1265 to 1272. Under Edward I., however, representatives of shires and boroughs had been summoned with some frequency, although many of his great statutes were passed in assemblies attended by the magnates only. But in 1295 the final step was taken which brought the Estate of the Commons into political action side by side with the barons and clergy. The earls, barons, bishops, and abbots received, as was customary, a special writ of summons, and the archbishops and bishops were directed to bring to Parliament representatives of the cathedral chapters and of the diocesan clergy. Lastly, the sheriffs were ordered to send two knights, elected by the county courts, and two citizens and burgesses from each city or borough. The three orders each voted separately a large grant of money to the king.

5. The First Invasion of Scotland (1296).—As soon as Edward heard of the Franco-Scottish alliance, he demanded that the Scottish border fortresses should be placed in his hands, and on this being refused, invaded Scotland. Balliol formally renounced his allegiance, but the capture of Berwick by Edward was followed by a decisive victory gained by the English under John de Warrenne, Earl of Surrey, at Dunbar. Edinburgh and the other chief towns surrendered, and Balliol submitted. He was allowed to retire to France, and Edward proclaimed himself King of Scotland. After receiving the homage of the Scottish nobles, he left Scotland under the regency of Earl Warrenne and Sir Hugh Cressingham.

6. The Confirmation of the Charters (1296-1297).—Edward's attack on Scotland was part of a wider scheme of attack on France, which comprised an invasion from both

SCOTLAND.

English Miles

0 10 20 30 40 50



Walker & Cockerell sc.

Flanders and Gascony. To carry out his plan, Edward was forced to have recourse to very heavy taxation levied on the clergy and merchants and royal towns. When he again summoned Parliament in 1296, his demands met with a strenuous resistance. The lead was taken by the clergy, who, under Archbishop Winchelsey, refused to grant any taxes, pleading that the Bull *Clericis Laicos* just issued by Boniface VIII., prohibited the clergy from paying taxes to the State from the revenues of the Church. The Bull was not specially aimed at Edward, for it applied to all Christian countries, and was primarily intended to stop the wars, the funds for which were largely obtained from the Church. Thus, in England, about 1291, Edward, under the pretence of undertaking a Crusade, had obtained from the clergy, with the sanction of Nicholas IV., a tax of one-tenth of their revenues, and in 1294 he demanded one half. The papal authority on which Edward had relied in 1291, was now invoked against him by the clergy. Edward angrily retorted by placing the clergy outside the protection of the law courts.

The quarrel rapidly widened. In 1297 the barons, led by the Constable Bohun, Earl of Hereford, and Bigod the Marshall, Earl of Norfolk, refused to join an expedition to Gascony, while Edward commanded in Flanders. They pleaded that they were only bound to follow the king in person, and neither threats nor persuasion could induce them to recede from a position in which they had the support of the majority of the barons. Edward therefore dismissed the two earls from their offices, seized the wool of the merchants, ordered the counties to furnish supplies of food, and obtained from an assembly of his own adherents a grant of taxes. He then reconciled himself to Archbishop Winchelsey, who promised that if the king would confirm the Charters, he would arrange a compromise with the clergy which would enable them to make a voluntary grant. This had been expressly allowed by Boniface in a second bull, explaining the Bull *Clericis Laicos*. Edward agreed and proceeded to make

preparation to start for Flanders. Before leaving, he received from the barons and clergy a demand that certain new articles should be added to the Great Charter, and to avoid the humiliation of a personal submission, he left the negotiations to be finished by the Regent Prince Edward. The young prince had no choice but to yield, for the Scots were in revolt, and the barons, under Bigod and Bohun, forbade the exchequer officers to collect the illegal taxes. In October, 1297, the Government therefore issued the *Confirmatio Cartarum*.

The confirmation of the Charters is a document of the greatest constitutional importance; for, in confirming, it amplified the Great Charter itself. As we have seen, the clause dealing with the grant of scutages and extraordinary aids which had been inserted in *Magna Carta*, in 1215, was omitted in the reissue of 1216, and had never been restored. To remedy this omission a clause was now added by which the king pledged himself and his heirs not to levy "any such aids, mises, or prises, but by the common assent of the realm and for the common profit thereof, saving the ancient aids and prises due and accustomed." This clause did not cover every form of taxation, and therefore did not settle once for all the relative rights of the Crown and Parliament. But it went far beyond the control over feudal taxes conceded in 1215, and what is of even greater importance, its guarantee of being observed did not depend on a feudal gathering of barons, but on that national representative Parliament which Edward himself had done so much to create.

7. The Second Invasion of Scotland (1298).—Edward's expedition against France did not produce any military results of importance. Edward and Philip therefore agreed to accept the arbitration of Boniface VIII., acting not as Pope, but as a judge voluntarily accepted by both parties. A truce for two years was concluded which ripened subsequently into a peace. The Gascon possessions of the English Crown were restored.

The truce with France left Edward free to deal with Scotland, where the political situation was most threatening. The government of the regency had been oppressive, and the

treatment of Scotland as a conquered country soon roused the spirit of resistance. In 1297 William Wallace, a small landowner in the western Lowlands, became the centre of the insurrection, and in the summer of 1297 John de Warrenne the regent was disgracefully routed by Wallace at Cambuskenneth, near Stirling. The Scots followed up the victory by an invasion of England, laying waste Northumberland and Cumberland. Edward's presence soon restored the balance in favour of England. At the head of a huge army, Edward invaded Scotland, and penetrated as far as the Forth. But provisions became scarce, and he therefore determined to fall back on Edinburgh. Before, however, he reached the capital, he learnt that Wallace was encamped at Falkirk, with the intention of harassing his retreat. Edward therefore retraced his steps to Linlithgow Moor, and on the following day encountered Wallace's army. The Scottish force consisted mainly of foot-soldiers armed with pikes, and Wallace, to protect them against the English cavalry, had taken up a position behind a morass. The Scottish cavalry fled at the first onset, but the English knights could not break the serried ranks of the Scottish spearmen. Edward, therefore, ordered his bowmen to break up the masses of the enemy by pouring a ceaseless flight of arrows into them. His cavalry dashed in on the enemy wherever a gap was made, and the battle was won. Wallace fled, and for a time took refuge in France.

Scotland still remained unconquered, and the Scottish barons, who had never trusted Wallace, now chose Robert Bruce, grandson of the claimant, John Comyn, the nephew and heir of John Balliol, and the Bishop of St. Andrews, as regents. By avoiding pitched battles, the partisans of Scottish independence maintained their hold on the country north of the Forth. Edward, moreover, was still hampered by his quarrel with Philip. In 1299 Boniface VIII., whose protection had been invoked by the Scottish nobles on the ground that Scotland was a fief of the Holy See, summoned Edward to plead his rights at Rome. Edward, who was carrying on a campaign in Scotland, summoned a Parliament to Lincoln,

and laid the papal letter before it (1301). The barons and commons replied to Boniface, denying that Scotland belonged to the Holy See, and insisted that the kings of England "have never pleaded, or been bound to plead, respecting their rights in the kingdom of Scotland, or any other of their temporal rights before any judge secular or ecclesiastical." The bishops and clergy, it should be added, abstained from joining in this reply to the Pope. Boniface, however, was now engaged in a struggle with Philip IV. of France, and could not afford to make an enemy of Edward. The question, therefore, dropped, and the peace between England and France in 1303 gave Edward another opportunity to conquer Scotland.

8. The Third Invasion of Scotland (1303).—Unsupported by France and the Pope the Scots could only offer a feeble resistance. Edward traversed the whole country from south to north, and everywhere received the submission of the Scottish nobles, including that of the Regent Comyn. The heroic Wallace, who refused to accept the pardon offered by Edward, was betrayed to the English, and was taken to London, where he was tried and executed as a traitor (1305). Edward now drew up a new constitution for Scotland. The country was divided into sheriffdoms, and a certain number of representatives were to be summoned to the English Parliament. Edward's schemes for the union of the countries were frustrated by the advent of a new pretender, Robert Bruce, grandson of the Bruce who had been the rival of John Balliol in 1290. In 1306 he murdered his rival John Comyn for refusing to help him, and gathering a small force he was crowned at Scone. The rising did not at first appear formidable, but Bruce, though not successful in the open field, managed to elude his pursuers, and kept alive the spirit of national resistance. In 1307 Edward roused himself once more to march into Scotland, but died at Burgh-by-Sands near Carlisle.

9. Edward I. as Legislator.—The military achievements of Edward I. were but a part, and certainly not the most important part, of the work which has gained for him

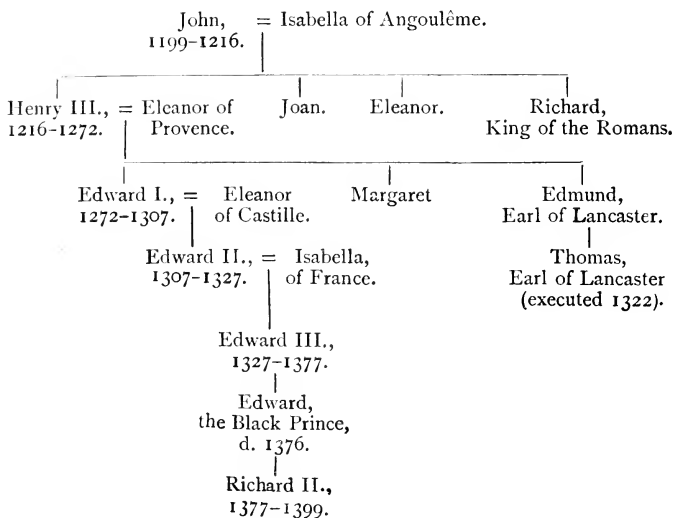
renown as the greatest of English kings. In the sphere of law-making and of administrative and judicial reforms, his reign marks a great epoch. His genius was shown not in creating new machinery of government, but in taking that which already existed, and in rendering every part suitable for its purpose. His defining and organising policy made itself felt in every department of the national life. In 1295 he had taken the final step towards the completion of Parliament. He had defined the sphere of the ecclesiastical courts by his writ "Circumspecte Agatis" (1285), and during his reign the central courts of justice took their permanent forms as the courts of King's Bench, Common Pleas, and Exchequer. By the writs of Distraint of Knighthood, compelling all landowners with land worth £20 a year to take up the burden of knighthood, he strengthened the feudal force, while by the Statute of Winchester (1285) he reorganised the national fyrd.

The Statute De Religiosis, or Statute of Mortmain (1279), forbade the acquisition of land by religious bodies in such a way that the Crown and lords lost such sources of feudal income as reliefs, wardships, and escheats. The second Statute of Westminster (1285) established definitely the practice of entail, and the Statute Quia Emptores (1290) forbade the practice of subinfeudation. In future, if a vassal alienated his land the new tenant was to hold the land of the original lord of the whole estate, and not of the subordinate grantor. The effect of this statute was to increase the number of tenants who held land directly of the king and great lords. In these and many other directions Edward's policy was one of the highest statesmanship, for it embodied the national spirit in its love of precedent and of conservative development. Some of Edward's political acts, such as his attack on Scotland and his treatment of Wallace, are hard to defend, and seem to belie the motto he adopted—*Pactum Serva*. But there can be no doubt as to the greatness of his services to England, whether as ruler and politician, or as setting a high example of integrity of life and character.

CHIEF EVENTS.

	A.D.
Conquest of Wales	1282.
Settlement of the Scottish Succession . . .	1292.
Model Parliament	1295.
Battle of Dunbar	1296.
Confirmation of the Charters	1297.
Battle of Falkirk	1298.
Third invasion of Scotland	1303.
Rebellion of Robert Bruce	1306.

THE LATER PLANTAGENETS.



CHAPTER XV.

EDWARD II. (1307-1327).

I. The Struggle between Piers Gaveston and the Barons (1307-1310).—The death of Edward I. was followed by a reversal of his policy. Edward II. was totally unlike his father. Weak, dissipated, and careless of the business and interests of the State, he gave himself over to the guidance of his favourite Piers Gaveston. The death of his mother, Queen Eleanor (1290), when he was six years old had deprived Edward of the wise control so necessary for his wayward and indolent disposition. He had been brought up in the closest intimacy with Piers Gaveston, the son of a Gascon knight, and the young Gaveston had gained a complete ascendancy over him. Too late Edward I. had realised this, and had banished Gaveston from the Court ; but with the accession of Edward II. the favourite was at once recalled and raised to the earldom of Cornwall. In other directions also, Edward II. disregarded his father's wishes. Edward I. expressly enjoined his son to carry through the war in Scotland, but Edward II. contented himself with a short expedition into Scotland, and leaving Aymer de Valence as Governor of Scotland, hurried south to prepare for his coronation and marriage. He crossed over to France and was married to Isabella, daughter of Philip IV. During his absence Gaveston was appointed regent, and the jealousy of the great barons was further inflamed by the precedence accorded to the favourite at the royal coronation.

In 1308 the opposition to Gaveston reached a climax. The leader of the barons was the king's first cousin Thomas,

son of Edmund, Earl of Lancaster, the younger brother of Edward I. Earl Thomas held the earldom of Leicester and Derby, and had married the future heiress of the Earl of Lincoln and Salisbury. He was a man of violent passions and great ambitions, and his pride was wounded by the favours showered upon Gaveston, who had offended him and the other great barons by an arrogant demeanour and by petty sarcasms at their expense. When, therefore, Edward's first Parliament met in 1308, the barons demanded Gaveston's dismissal, and the king had to yield. Gaveston was banished, but was made Governor of Ireland. Edward, however, soon soothed the barons by concessions, and in 1309 Gaveston was recalled. Almost immediately the quarrel was renewed, and this time the barons determined to get securities for the carrying out of their wishes.

2. The Lords Ordainers (1310-1312).—In 1310 Parliament was summoned, but only barons and prelates were present. Following the bad precedent of the Provisions of Oxford, 1258, it was decided to transfer the government from the king to a body specially chosen by the baronage. Twenty-one Ordainers were appointed to draw up Ordinances for the welfare of Church and realm. The Ordainers were to remain in office till the following year. In 1311 the ordainers issued forty-one Ordinances, in which important constitutional claims were made. Gaveston was to be perpetually banished. The great officers of State were to be appointed with the advice and consent of the barons; the king was not to make war or leave the kingdom without their consent; Parliament was to be summoned at least once a year. Whatever the merit of these claims, it is clear that, as in 1258, they were made not on behalf of the whole nation, but of a single class.

While the Ordainers were at work, Edward had been in the north with Gaveston, but after an abject supplication to the barons to spare his "brother Piers" he agreed to the Ordinances. In 1312, however, he defied the barons by recalling Gaveston. The Earls of Lancaster, Pembroke, Warwick, and Hereford

thereupon attacked Gaveston, and captured him at Scarborough. In defiance of the promise of his captors that he should have a fair trial in Parliament, he was beheaded in the presence of Lancaster at Blacklow Hill. Edward, in spite of his humiliation and sorrow, felt himself too weak to avenge this cruel outrage. A reconciliation was effected between the king and the barons, and for the moment he was free to deal with affairs in Scotland.

3. The Battle of Bannockburn (1314).—Robert Bruce had taken advantage of the disturbed state of English politics to push his fortunes. Fortress after fortress surrendered, and in 1314 the fall of Stirling, the last English stronghold, was inevitable unless immediately relieved. Edward had gathered a force, but Lancaster and his confederates refused to obey the summons, on the ground that Parliament, in accordance with the Ordinances, had not sanctioned the war. The march of the English army was thus delayed, and it did not come within sight of Stirling till the day on which the garrison had agreed to surrender unless help came. Here Edward was confronted by a Scottish army under Bruce, entrenched behind the stream called the Bannockburn, and blocking the road to Stirling. In the battle which followed the English were badly led by their king. No advantage was taken of the English superiority in archers, as had been done at Falkirk, but they were thrown forward unsupported, and were ridden down by the Scottish cavalry. The advance of the English cavalry was broken up by their becoming entangled in the morass and in the hidden pits with which Bruce had protected his flanks, and the English knights failed to pierce the close formation of the Scottish pikemen. The appearance of a crowd of camp-followers on the neighbouring hill spread a panic through the English, who mistook them for Scottish reinforcements. The English army turned and fled, and Edward, outstripping his soldiers, did not stop in his headlong flight till he reached Dunbar. Stirling surrendered, and the English were swept out of Scotland. Bruce was now so strong that he could aim at extending the influence of his family. In 1315 his brother Edward Bruce led

an army into Ireland, and was crowned king. A long struggle followed, which weakened the English hold on Ireland without establishing that of the Bruces. In 1318 Edward Bruce was killed in battle at Dundalk.

4. The Rule of Thomas of Lancaster (1314-1322).—The disaster of Bannockburn still further weakened Edward's position in England, and Thomas of Lancaster and his party among the Lords Ordainers controlled the administration. In 1316 Lancaster became head of the Royal Council, and was practically dictator. But he was no statesman, and his one aim seemed to be to wrest power from Edward without showing any capacity to wield it. He made no attempt to resist the Scottish invasions, and he did not lead even his own party efficiently. The baronial party split into factions, and Edward regained a measure of power. But he was unable to stand alone, and therefore placed himself in the hands of the two Despensers, father and son, upon whom he showered honours and favours. The barons quarrelled amongst themselves, and private wars broke out. Robert Bruce took advantage of English disorganisation, and in 1318 captured Berwick. This fresh humiliation led to a temporary truce between Edward and Lancaster, which Lancaster signed as co-equal with Edward; but the king failed to recapture Berwick, and the Scots pushed as far as Yorkshire.

In 1321 Lancaster raised the cry against the king's favourites, the two Despensers, and rallied the barons round him. The favourites were sentenced to exile by Parliament. For the moment Lancaster seemed more influential than ever, but in reality power was slipping from him. Two months after the banishment of the Despensers, Queen Isabella was refused admittance into Leeds Castle in Kent by Lady Badlesmere. Lord Badlesmere was hostile to Lancaster, and the Earl allowed Edward to gather a force to punish the insult. The blunder was a fatal one, for the king, finding himself stronger than he had anticipated, turned against his enemies. Marching west, he recalled the Despensers, and after capturing Hereford and Gloucester he struck north to attack Lancaster. The Earl

fled, but was intercepted by Sir Andrew Harclay at Boroughbridge. After a fierce struggle Lancaster was captured, and was tried and executed in his own castle of Pontefract. Lord Badlesmere was hanged, and about thirty of the chief adherents of Lancaster were put to death, while others were imprisoned or fined.

Edward completed his triumph by summoning Parliament to York in 1322. Parliament repealed the Ordinances, and the important constitutional principle was laid down that matters which were to be established for the king and realm must be sanctioned by the king and by a Parliament of the three estates. Edward thus seized upon the flaw in the procedure of the barons in 1310, viz. the election of the Ordainers by a Parliament from which the Commons were absent. It is not likely that Edward had any sympathy with the claims of the Commons, but none the less the great principle, which he upheld as a weapon to crush his opponents, was a notable triumph for the cause of representative government.

5. The Deposition of Edward II. (1327).—The king soon let the control of affairs slip through his fingers. A campaign against the Scots nearly led to his capture. Sir Andrew Harclay, who had been rewarded with the earldom of Carlisle, was shortly after discovered in treasonable correspondence with Robert Bruce, and was hanged as a traitor. As it was clear that the reconquest of Scotland was impossible, Edward, in 1323, agreed to a truce for thirteen years. Matters in England now went from bad to worse. The Despensers were universally hated for their avarice and arrogance, and the queen was jealous of the king's trust in his favourites. The country was in a state of anarchy, and both the administration of the law and the collection of taxes almost ceased. In 1324 Edward was summoned to do homage to Charles IV., the new King of France, for his possessions in Gascony. After long negotiations, Edward, not daring to leave England, sent Queen Isabella, in 1325, to France. It was arranged that the young Prince Edward should join her and do homage to Charles. As soon as he arrived, Isabella gathered around her the chief

enemies of her husband, and announced her intention of delivering the king from his evil advisers. Her chief supporter was Roger Mortimer, Lord of Wigmore, who had been one of the chiefs of the opposition to the Despensers in 1321.

In 1326 the queen landed at Orwell, in Suffolk, and Edward, finding himself powerless, fled to the west of England, and thence to Wales. Henry of Lancaster, brother and heir of Earl Thomas, joined Isabella, and she was soon supported by nearly all the barons and bishops. The two Despensers were captured and hanged, and the king surrendered. Parliament was summoned in January, 1327, and Edward resigned. The three estates renounced their allegiance, and the young Edward was declared king. The ex-king survived his deposition for just eight months. The new Government could not feel safe from a dangerous reaction so long as he lived, and he was therefore secretly murdered at Berkeley Castle

CHIEF EVENTS.

	A.D.
The Lords Ordainers	1310.
Gaveston's death	1312.
Battle of Bannockburn	1314.
Repeal of the Ordinances	1322.

CHAPTER XVI.

EDWARD III. (1327-1377).

I. The Fall of Mortimer.—Edward was fourteen years old at his accession, and it was therefore necessary to provide for the government during his minority. A council of regency, consisting of fourteen members, was appointed by Parliament. Mortimer, who was created Earl of March, and enriched with a large share of the estates of the Despensers, was not a member of the council ; but most of the councillors were of the queen's party, and the influence of Isabella and her guilty partner was thus secured.

The most pressing difficulty which met the new Government was the danger from Scotland. The aged Robert Bruce, though smitten by leprosy, retained all his fierce determination to wrest from England the recognition of Scottish independence. In defiance of the truce for thirteen years, signed in 1323, and in spite of the pacific overtures of the English Government, he sent his army to overrun the border counties. The young Edward advanced with a well-equipped army to meet the invaders, but halted for six weeks at York, uncertain as to the position of the enemy. The Scottish army, moving with scarcely any baggage, and consisting entirely of light-armed cavalry, had twice the mobility of the trained forces of the English, and it was only by imitating the methods of his enemies that Edward was at last able to come up with them. The English advanced by rapid marches to the Tyne, and sending back their heavy baggage to Durham, they crossed the Tyne in search of the enemy. It was not till the English troops were on the verge of mutiny, from want of success and

from privation, that Edward received the welcome news that the Scots, under the Earl of Moray and Sir James Douglas, awaited his attack on the right bank of the Wear, near Stanhope. Edward moved southwards towards the Wear, and for more than a fortnight the two armies faced each other. An attempt of Douglas, at the head of two hundred picked men, to surprise the English by night and carry off the young king, was nearly successful; but the Scottish generals, realising that their forces were no match in a pitched battle for the better equipped English troops, suddenly broke up their camp during the night following their unsuccessful raid and disappeared northwards. This was followed by negotiations, and in 1328 a peace was signed at Northampton, by which Edward III. renounced all claims to feudal supremacy over Scotland, and agreed to a marriage between his sister Jane and David, heir of Robert Bruce.

The recognition of the independence of Scotland was a bitter humiliation for England, and rapidly increased the unpopularity of Mortimer, whose overweening pride and ambition made his fall inevitable. Although not a member of the regency, he took upon himself the supreme direction of affairs, and surrounded the young king with his own dependents. The recent murder of Edward II. was laid to his charge, and the scandalous intimacy subsisting between him and the queen shocked those who had acted with him against Edward II. In 1329 an association was formed against Mortimer under the leadership of the Earls of Kent, Norfolk, and Lancaster. Mortimer was, however, strong enough to break it up. Henry of Lancaster attempted a rising, but failed, and had to make his submission, while the Earl of Kent, the young king's uncle, was entrapped by Mortimer into a plot and, after a trial at Winchester before a Parliament packed with Mortimer's adherents, was executed. But Edward, though only eighteen years old, was keen-sighted enough to realise the contemptible position in which he was being kept. He had married Philippa of Hainault in 1328, and the birth of a son in 1330, celebrated in later years as the Black Prince, seems to have

roused in him both remorse for his treatment of his father, and disgust at the conduct of his mother. Mortimer, surrounded by a bodyguard of adherents, was holding his Court with Isabella at Nottingham Castle, when they were seized by Edward himself. Mortimer was tried before Parliament at Westminster on the charges of murdering Edward II., of usurping regal power, and of appropriating the public money. He was condemned as a traitor, and executed (1330).

2. The Renewal of the Struggle with Scotland.—

Amongst the stipulations of the Treaty of Northampton was a clause that certain English nobles, whose estates in Scotland had been forfeited during the wars, should be restored to their possessions. Robert Bruce, however, had died in 1329, leaving the kingdom to his son David, a child of seven, under the regency of the Earl of Moray, and as the Scottish Government delayed in carrying out the agreement, the barons of the north determined to secure its fulfilment. With this end in view, they set up the claims of Edward Balliol, son of John Balliol, ex-king of Scotland. Balliol was brought over from France, and in spite of the prohibition of Edward III., who refused to allow them to cross the borders, the confederate barons, sailing from Yorkshire, landed in Fifeshire and advanced to Dunfermline. The Scots were defeated at Dupplin Moor, in spite of their overwhelming superiority in numbers, and Edward Balliol was crowned king at Scone two months after his landing in Scotland. David Bruce was sent over to France. Balliol now applied to Edward, with offers to hold Scotland as a fief of the English Crown, thus reversing the Treaty of Northampton. Edward consulted Parliament, but before he could arrive at a decision, the position of affairs in Scotland was completely altered. Balliol was surprised by Moray, the son of the late Regent of Scotland, at Annam, and only managed to escape with his life into England (1332).

The situation was now so difficult that the English Parliament hesitated, and in 1333 advised Edward to seek counsel from the Pope and the French king. But Edward had already determined to disregard the rights of his young brother-in-law,

David Bruce, and was bent on an invasion of Scotland. He marched against Berwick-on-Tweed, which commanded the Scottish border, and blockaded the town. The garrison were on the point of surrendering, when the new regent, Sir Archibald Douglas, arrived with a large army. The English held a strong position on Halidon Hill, protected in front by a marsh. Douglas was ill-advised enough to attack them, and met with an overwhelming defeat. Berwick surrendered, and Edward, having received the homage of the Scottish nobles, re-established Balliol on the throne. Balliol ceded to Edward a number of counties south of the Forth, and did homage for the rest of the kingdom. The Scots, however, were not yet conquered, and in 1334 a great rising drove Balliol from Scotland and restored David. Edward renewed his invasion of Scotland, but his presence alone could maintain Balliol on the throne. In 1336 the outbreak of a quarrel with France drew Edward south, and saved the independence of Scotland. Balliol was finally expelled in 1339, and in 1341 David ruled securely over his inheritance.

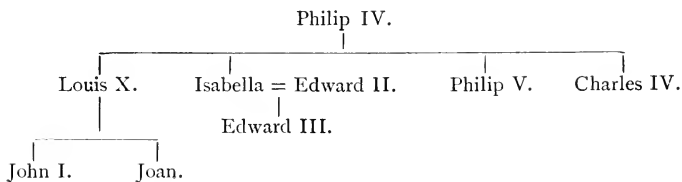
3. The French Succession.—Philip IV., surnamed “the Fair,” had died in 1314, leaving three sons, Louis X., Philip V., and Charles IV. Louis X. died in 1316, leaving a son, John I., who died in the year of his accession, and a daughter, Joan, afterwards Queen of Navarre; but the French nobles, to avoid the rule of a woman, appealed to a law in force amongst the Salian Franks, which excluded women from succession to property. The same law was enforced when Philip V. died, leaving only daughters, and when the third brother, Charles IV., died without male issue in 1328 the French nobles, following previous precedents, gave the Crown to Philip of Valois, nephew of Philip IV., and cousin of the last three kings. Edward III. at the time had put forward a claim to the French throne, but it had not been taken seriously, and he had done homage for Aquitaine to Philip in 1329, though in vague terms. Ultimately in 1331 Edward publicly acknowledged that his homage had been full and complete, and by so doing he might be said to have waived all claims to

the French throne. But the interference of Philip VI. on behalf of the Scottish patriots, and his constant intrigues in Aquitaine, caused Edward to revive his claim.¹ Recognising the validity of the Salic law, he insisted that it only applied to the actual succession of females to the throne, and did not exclude their male descendants. Edward, therefore, as son of Isabella, the daughter of Philip IV., had a claim prior to that of Philip of Valois. In reviving his claim, Edward was backed by the whole English nation, and in 1337, with the sanction of Parliament, he took the title of "King of France."

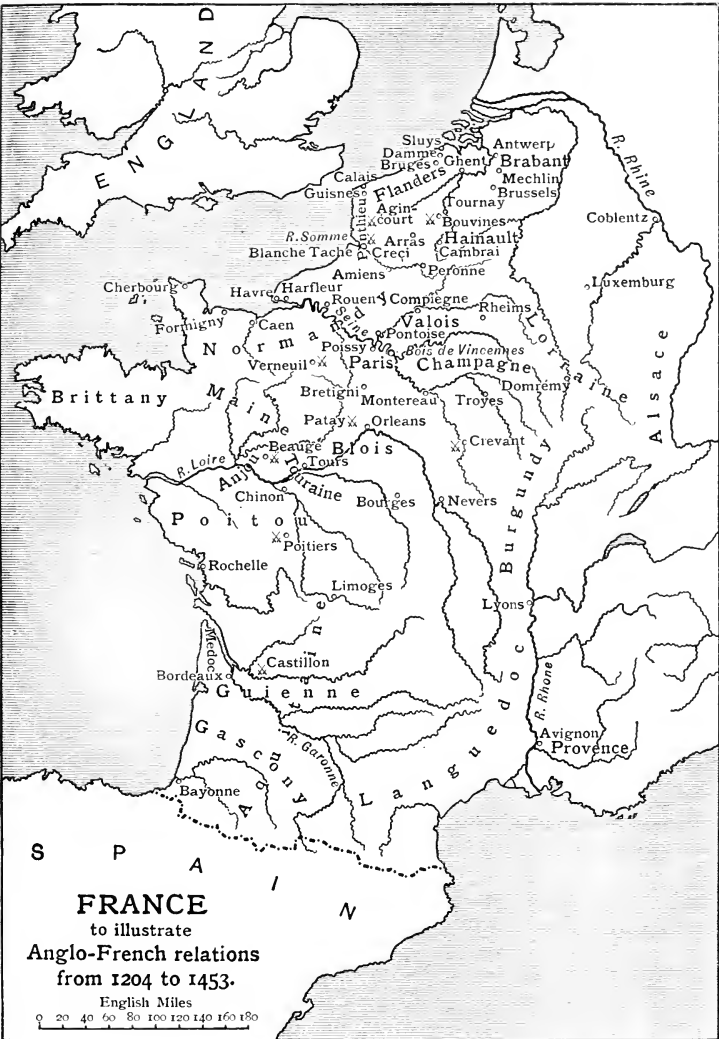
Edward at once proceeded to negotiate alliances against France. Besides allying himself with the Emperor Louis of Bavaria, and with the Duke of Brabant and the Count of Hainault, he secured the powerful help of the Flemings. The territory of the Count of Flanders lay partly in France and partly in the Empire, but the Flemings, the wealthiest and most industrious people of Northern Europe, tired of the misgovernment of their sovereign, Count Louis, had revolted and chosen as their ruler James van Artevelde, the so-called "Brewer of Ghent." Flanders was the great market for English wool, the staple English product; and Edward was actuated both by commercial and political interest in supporting the Flemings against Count Louis, who, in his turn, relied on the friendship of Philip of France. Moreover, by his assumption of the title of French king, Edward could claim as of right the assistance of the French part of Flanders.

4. The First Campaigns of the Hundred Years' War (1338-1346).—In the summer of 1338 Edward sailed

¹ CLAIM OF EDWARD III.



from Orwell with a large fleet, and proceeded to Antwerp. Here he was delayed for nearly a year by the failure of the Duke of Brabant and of the Flemings to fulfil their engagements, and by the intervention of the Pope. The Popes since 1305 had been residing at Avignon, under the protection of the French king, a position which greatly weakened their influence as international mediators, and led to a renewal of the conflict between the Papacy and Empire. John XXII. had opposed the election of Louis of Bavaria, and refused to recognise him as emperor. Louis therefore retorted by invading Italy, and by setting up an anti-pope. In 1334 John was succeeded by Benedict XII., who, though anxious to come to terms with Louis, was prevented by French influence from doing so. He now intervened to warn Edward against allying himself with the emperor, a prince who had incurred excommunication. Edward, however, disregarded the papal commands, and, meeting the emperor at Coblenz, was made Imperial Vicar-General over the districts of the Empire to the east of the Rhine. This was followed by a summons from Edward to his allies to meet him at Mechlin, and in September, 1339, he advanced to attack Cambrai. Finding the town too strong to be captured, the allies entered France, and found that Philip was at Vironfosse. The French declined battle, and Edward was forced by the lateness of the season to retire to Brussels, after a costly and fruitless campaign. The following year, 1340, was marked by one great success—the naval victory at Sluys, won by Edward himself. The battle was gained by the superiority of the English archers, whose shafts swept the enemy's decks, and enabled the English to carry the ships by assault. For the time being the French navy ceased to exist, and the title of Lord of the Seas, adopted by Edward, appeared to be justified. But on land Edward was again unsuccessful, and the campaign ended with a truce for nine months. The struggle was renewed in 1341, but the war was mainly waged in Brittany, where Edward supported John de Montfort, one of the claimants to the duchy, against Charles of Blois, who was supported by his uncle, Philip VI. A series of indecisive



Walker & Cockerell sc.

campaigns in Brittany and Gascony took place during the years 1341 to 1344, and Edward, after five years of war, found himself no nearer to the conquest of France. His chances of success seemed, in fact, to have greatly diminished, for in 1342 he was deserted by the emperor, and thus lost the position of Imperial Vicar-General.

5. The Battle of Créci and the Siege of Calais (1346-1347).—In 1346 Edward determined to attack France from the north, and not to rely any more on his Continental allies. Landing near Cherbourg with 30,000 men, and taking with him his eldest son, Edward of Woodstock, he advanced on Rouen. Normandy was practically undefended, for the bulk of Philip's forces lay in the south. Edward, therefore, was able to lay waste one of the richest districts in France, and the plunder of Norman towns was sent back to England. On reaching Rouen it was found that the French, temporarily unable to meet Edward in the field, had destroyed every bridge over the Seine between Rouen and Paris. As Edward could not retreat through the devastated country in his rear, he sent a body of troops to Paris, which ravaged the suburbs, while his main body remained at Poissy till the bridge was repaired. He then crossed the Seine, and marching rapidly northwards to avoid being cut off by the French forces, he reached the river Somme. Here again he was confronted by the difficulty caused by the destruction of all the bridges, and the fact that the only available ford, that at Blanche Tache, was strongly guarded by the French. The passage of the ford was forced by the English archers and cavalry, and Edward determined to retreat no further. He drew up his army on the rising ground near the village of Créci, to await the attack of the great army of over 70,000 men which Philip had brought to overwhelm him.

The English army was drawn up in three bodies, or "battles," two of which formed the front line. Prince Edward commanded that on the right, while the king himself was in command of the third division, which formed the reserve. As it was decided that the whole force should fight on foot,

the horses and baggage were placed in an entrenched position in the rear. The French troops were already tired out by a march of six leagues, and the attack on the English was begun against Philip's orders, and was conducted in a fatally haphazard fashion. The engagement was begun by Philip's Genoese crossbowmen, but a storm of rain had loosened their bowstrings, and the Genoese were thrown into hopeless confusion by the showers of arrows poured into their ranks by the English archers, who had been careful to keep their bows covered. Philip angrily ordered his horsemen under the command of his brother, the Count of Alençon, to ride over the Genoese, who encumbered the advance, and storm the hill on which the English were posted. The two divisions of the English were for a time hotly pressed by the superior numbers of the French, the "battle" under Prince Edward bearing the brunt of the attack; but King Edward, who from a windmill watched the struggle, refused to send the reserve into action, being determined, as he said, to "let the boy win his spurs." The French were driven down the hill with terrible loss; twelve sovereign princes, including the Count of Alençon, the Duke of Lorraine, and the King of Bohemia, were amongst the slain; while of the lesser combatants 30,000 perished on the field. Philip was twice wounded, and was with difficulty prevailed on by his followers to seek safety in flight. The victory of Créçi was the victory of a national force, in which archers, footmen, and knights fought as comrades, over a feudal army composed of great nobles and knights, with contingents of hired mercenaries and serfs, the last being dragged from their fields to fight, not for their country, but for their lords.

On the second day after his victory Edward continued his march northwards, and Calais was besieged. The town had long been a centre from which piratical expeditions preyed on English commerce, and its capture was therefore of considerable importance. After a rigorous blockade by sea and land lasting eleven months, the town surrendered (1347). At the intercession of Queen Philippa, the king spared the inhabitants

from the penalty of death for their piracies, but he banished the majority, and invited Englishmen to take their place. Edward returned home, bringing with him the spoils of his victorious campaign.

In England, also, the year 1346 was marked by important military results. Philip VI. had relied on his ally, David Bruce, to create a diversion by invading the north of England, and the Scottish king, believing England to be bare of fighting men, led a force of 30,000 lightly armed horsemen on a raiding expedition through Cumberland. At Neville's Cross he was met by an army of 12,000 men hurriedly collected by order of Queen Philippa. The battle was again decided by English archers. David and many of his barons were taken prisoners.

The successes of Edward III. in almost every direction, in Normandy, Gascony, and against the Scots, had entailed very heavy sacrifices in men and money on the part of the nation. Throughout the struggle papal pressure had been brought to bear on the combatants in order to stop the war, but without result. After the fall of Calais, however, a short armistice was negotiated between Edward and Philip by Clement VI., and this, through papal influence and through the pressure of the universal calamity of 1348, was prolonged for six years.

6. The Black Death (1348).—When Edward, in the autumn of 1347, returned to England he stood at the climax of his fortunes. A brilliant series of military achievements shed lustre on English arms, and the spoils of France were so vast that, as the chronicler notes, “there was no woman who had not got garments, furs, feather beds, and utensils from the spoils of Calais and other foreign cities.” Commerce flourished, and the introduction of cloth-weaving from Flanders opened a new channel of profitable employment; while the possession of Calais, combined with the naval weakness of France, gave to England the command of the seas. The great outburst of material prosperity was not without its drawbacks, for the king and his courtiers set to the nation at large an example of extravagance and luxury highly dangerous to a people just

realising the sense of national unity. In the pages of the chronicler Froissart we see the splendid pageant of feudal chivalry, but none the less beneath the surface there lay a mass of suffering and of political discontent.

According to contemporary belief the Great Plague, known as the Black Death, originated in China. It is first heard of in the Crimea, and it spread rapidly westward to Constantinople and to the shores of the Mediterranean. In the summer of 1348 it appeared in Dorsetshire, and by the autumn of 1349 it had spread all over England, and thence to Wales, Scotland, and Ireland. The visitation lasted altogether about fourteen months, but it reappeared in subsequent years, and for 300 years England was never free from its recurrence. The mortality was appalling, and it is computed that from one-third to one half of the population perished. The plague struck down all classes and orders, rich and poor, lay and cleric. Two Archbishops of Canterbury died, and the frequent appointments to vacant livings in the same year show both the mortality amongst the clergy and their faithfulness as a body to their duties. Thus in the diocese of Norwich 800 parish priests died in 1349, and the diocese lost altogether about 2000 clergy during the visitation of the plague.

This terrible calamity led to a great social revolution. The scarcity of labour was so marked that some manors could not be cultivated at all. Moreover, the surviving labourers in town and country took advantage of the scarcity to demand a large increase of wages, ranging from 50 to 200 per cent. The result was an enormous rise in the prices of all articles which depended mainly on labour for their value; while the landowner was brought face to face with ruin by the increased cost of agricultural labour. For the moment Parliament could not meet because of the plague, but the king in 1349 issued an ordinance which in 1351 was embodied in the Statute of Labourers. This ordered that all labourers in town and country not employed must work at the rate of wages customary before the plague. Employers giving more were to be heavily fined, and labourers refusing to work were to be

imprisoned. At the same time it was ordered that the prices of necessaries should be reasonable, and this was also to be enforced by penalties. The Act has been condemned as unfair to the labourers, but it is not open to the charge as far as its aim was concerned. The system of dealing between man and man in the Middle Ages was based on the principle that everything had a Just Price. This included remuneration sufficient to enable the producer to live by his craft, and this being so it was held to be morally wrong for either buyer or seller to take advantage of the other's necessities in order to drive a hard bargain. The Act, therefore, in trying to prevent the labourers gaining an undue advantage over the employer, and in ordering that necessaries should be sold at reasonable rates, was only carrying out the familiar policy of fixing conjointly the price of labour and the prices of the commodities which the wages of labour could buy. The real condemnation of the Act is that it was futile, because in the face of such a complete disorganisation of the social system it was impossible to return to the economic condition of 1347, whether with regard to wages or prices. The Act, therefore, justly failed, but it served unfortunately to exasperate both landlords and labourers and led indirectly to the great revolt of 1381.

7. The Renewal of the French War.—In 1350 Philip VI. died, and was succeeded by his son John. The truce with France was repeatedly renewed, but desultory fighting was carried on all the same in Gascony and Brittany, and on the whole the French lost ground. In 1353 Edward offered peace if John would cede to him Gascony, Normandy, and Ponthieu, in full sovereignty, but these terms were rejected. Negotiations at Avignon, the Pope acting as intermediary, went on, but without result. In 1355 the Black Prince¹ led a marauding expedition of English and Gascons, which, starting from Bordeaux, ravaged the rich district of Languedoc, and returned laden with plunder. Edward himself had designed an attack on France from the north, but was recalled to England by the

¹ The name "Black Prince" seems to have been given by the French to Prince Edward about this time.

news that the Scots had taken Berwick. He therefore hastened north, and after recapturing Berwick early in 1356, devastated the eastern Lowlands. Want of supplies, and the dispersal of the English fleet by a storm, forced him to retreat south.

In the summer of 1356 the Black Prince started with a small force of 7000 men, with the intention of pushing through central France to join his father in Normandy. After marching as far as Bourges, plundering and burning as he went, he determined to return to Bordeaux, as the passages of the Loire were guarded in force by the French. He found himself, however, intercepted by King John near Poitiers, and face to face with an army which outnumbered his by five to one. In this desperate position he offered terms through the papal representative Talleyrand. These included the surrender of the prisoners and towns he had captured, but he refused John's demand that he should surrender himself a prisoner. The English army was therefore drawn up as at Crécy in three divisions on rising ground, the front and flanks being protected by brushwood and by artificial entrenchments. Archers were stationed in front and along the sides of the lane on the left through which the English position was open to attack. The attempt of the French to storm the passage of the lane was defeated by the English archers, while the vanguard led by the Dauphin was thrown into confusion by the showers of arrows poured into them from every direction and fled in disorder. The second line, under the Duke of Orleans, also deserted the field of battle, and the Black Prince, taking the offensive, closed in on the third division of the French from the front and from the rear. King John fought with desperate courage, but was taken prisoner, together with his youngest son Philip and a large number of nobles. The French loss was 11,000 slain, while that of the English was insignificant. The Black Prince returned to Bordeaux and sailed thence to England, taking with him John and the other important prisoners.

Edward had now in custody his two chief enemies, David of Scotland and John of France. With David peace was made in 1357, and the Scottish king was released on paying a large

ransom. His ten years' residence in England had reconciled him to English ideas, and henceforward Edward was not troubled by Scottish hostility. With John terms were more difficult to arrange. France was in desperate straits, but the fierce inroads of the English and a revolt of the peasants in central France, known as the Jacquerie, did not bring her to submit to Edward as her king. In 1359 Edward led an expedition which ravaged the country up to the gates of Paris, but with no other result. In 1360, therefore, he agreed to the Peace of Brétigni. By this treaty Edward renounced his claims to the Crown of France and to Normandy, Maine, and Touraine, while King John ceded to him the province of Aquitaine, with Calais, Guisnes, and Ponthieu in full sovereignty. John's ransom was fixed at three million gold crowns, and the French king was set at liberty ; but as the money was not forthcoming he honourably returned to England. He died at London in 1364.

8. The Black Prince in Spain.—The territories in the south of France, ceded by the French at Brétigni, were formed into a principality, which was given by Edward III. to the Black Prince as Prince of Aquitaine and Gascony. In 1363 the prince took possession of his dominions and fixed his Court at Bordeaux. In 1366 Pedro the Cruel, King of Castile, whose crimes had goaded his subjects to revolt, was driven from his throne by his half-brother, Henry of Trastamare, and appealed to the Black Prince for help. The prince received Pedro at Bordeaux, and with the sanction of his father agreed to intervene in Spain. Advancing through Navarre, the English army pushed south with the object of reaching Burgos, but it encountered Henry of Trastamare on the plains between Navarrette and Najara. The English were greatly outnumbered, but the Black Prince gained a complete victory (1367). Pedro characteristically refused to fulfil the promises he had made to the Black Prince, and the latter, finding that his army was wasting away from dysentery, returned to France. Apart from the glory of victory the campaign proved in every way disastrous, for the prince contracted in Spain a disease from which he never

recovered, and was also seriously crippled by the expenses he had incurred. Pedro himself was defeated by Henry of Trastamare, supported by France, and was soon after stabbed by his rival in a personal encounter.

9. The Loss of Aquitaine.—Charles V., who had succeeded his father John in 1364, had not made the renunciation of sovereignty over Aquitaine, and his wisdom in avoiding the fulfilment of the stipulations of the Treaty of Brétigni was seen in the opportunities thus afforded to him for interfering in Edward's possessions. To meet the expenses of the Spanish campaign, the Black Prince was forced to levy a hearth tax on his Aquitanian subjects. This was sanctioned by the Parliament of Aquitaine in 1368, but a number of great nobles refused payment and appealed to Charles V. The French king summoned Prince Edward as his vassal to appear in Paris, and the latter retorted that if he came it would be at the head of 60,000 men. Charles declared war in 1369, and in a week conquered Ponthieu. In Aquitaine the English cause went from bad to worse. Town after town declared for the French king, while the Black Prince, weakened by disease, could do little to stem the French advance. In 1370 he besieged Limoges, which had been treacherously surrendered to the French. The town was captured, and the prince disgraced himself by ordering the massacre of the inhabitants. Shortly after he left Aquitaine and returned to England, broken in health and fortune. His brother, John of Gaunt, Duke of Lancaster, now commanded in France, and led marauding expeditions, one of which penetrated into the heart of France. But Charles V. was determined to avoid the blunders made at Créçy and Poitiers, and refused to meet the invaders in open battle. In 1372 an English fleet was sent, under the Earl of Pembroke, to relieve Rochelle, which was besieged by the French. It was met by a stronger Spanish fleet, sent by Henry of Trastamare, now King of Castile, and the ally of France. The English ships were surrounded and destroyed, Pembroke himself being captured. This blow ruined the English cause in Aquitaine, and by the year 1374, out of all

the gains ceded at Brétigni, England retained little more than Calais, Bordeaux, and Bayonne. In 1375, through the good offices of the Pope, a year's truce was agreed upon, and this was subsequently prolonged for the rest of the reign.

10. Ecclesiastical Affairs.—The reign of Edward III. was marked by events which had an important bearing on the religious life of the nation. Difficult as it is to estimate the position of a nation in morals and religion at any given epoch, still it may be safely said, that in many ways religion in England was in a less satisfactory state than at the end of the thirteenth century. In the first place the residence of the Popes at Avignon, under the influence of the French king, of necessity weakened their position as supreme judges in Christendom. There was, in addition to this, the old source of trouble arising from the heavy taxation levied by the Pope on the clergy, which caused large sums—asserted in 1376 to amount to four times as much as the king's revenue—to leave the country annually. The Pope's collectors also received voluntary offerings from the laity, besides the tribute promised by John. The latter, however, had fallen into neglect, and when Urban V. in 1366 demanded the payment of the arrears of thirty-three years, Parliament refused, alleging the fictitious reason that John had acted without the consent of the realm.

A more serious question was raised by the Statute of Provisors in 1351. According to Canon Law the Pope had the right to fill up any ecclesiastical appointment, although this right was restricted, both by agreements between the Holy See and the various Governments and by customary arrangements which had grown up with at least the implicit assent of the Papacy. Thus, according to Magna Carta, bishoprics in England were to be filled up by an election made by the Chapters, and the fact that bishops were also great officials with baronial status made it necessary that the Crown should be consulted. Hence the Crown when a vacancy occurred issued a *congé d'élire*, or licence to elect, to the Chapter, and intimated its wishes as to the person to be chosen. The

person elected then sought the confirmation of the archbishop, and in the case of an archiepiscopal election that of the Pope. On receiving this, consecration followed, and the king then conferred on the bishop the temporal possessions of the see. In the thirteenth century disputed elections were very common, and the Holy See, being invoked to decide, sometimes set aside the rival claimants, and appointed directly by what were called "Bulls of Provision."¹ Early in the fourteenth century the right of provision and reservation² was applied by the Holy See to the appointment of bishops. This was exercised practically without opposition under Edward II. and under Edward III. up to 1350. In 1351, however, the Statute of Provisors was passed, ordering that all persons receiving papal provisions should be liable to imprisonment, and that all preferments filled by provisions should forfeit for that turn to the Crown. This Act, it is to be noted, so far from upholding the claims of chapters and patrons, set them aside on the pretence of protecting them. In 1353, by the Statute of Præmunire, the king's subjects were forbidden to plead in any foreign court in matters which could be decided by the king's courts. The Holy See was not directly mentioned in the statute, but in 1365 suitors in papal courts were brought under it. Against this statute the bishops protested. On the whole the effect of this legislation was small. It was mainly prompted by the fear that through the papal appointment of foreigners to English sees, the bishops, who with the abbots formed the majority of the House of Lords, would have a dangerous influence on the national policy. The Acts secured to the Crown a voice in episcopal appointments, and this being safe, the Crown willingly invoked the papal nomination against which the Acts were in theory directed. Papal provisions were in fact more frequent after 1351 than before, and the history of

¹ This system of provisions had already been in force on a large scale with reference to benefices and other clerical appointments, and under Henry III. had caused much friction.

² Reservation was the right of the Pope to reserve to himself in advance the filling up of the next vacancy.

the Statute of Provisors is marked by a long series of evasions of the statute by the Crown.

11. The Anti-clerical Movement.—It was during the period of anti-papal legislation that John Wyclif first became prominent. His success as an anti-clerical leader was favoured not only by the strained relations with the Papacy caused by heavy taxation, and by the excessive use of the papal right of granting preferments, but also by the absorption of English bishops in the transaction of State business. The tendency of the higher clergy to monopolise the offices of State naturally roused the jealousy of laymen.

John Wyclif was born in Yorkshire towards the end of the reign of Edward II. He was of good family, and being destined for the priesthood, he finished his education at Oxford. He became Master of Balliol College about 1357, and in 1361 he applied to the Pope for an appointment by provision to preferment at York. In 1374 he was sent as ambassador to Bruges to negotiate with the delegates of Gregory XI. on the subject of papal and royal claims to grant benefices. The conference had no permanent results, but Wyclif, probably as a reward for his services, was appointed by the Crown to the living of Lutterworth in Leicestershire. At Bruges Wyclif met the king's son, John of Gaunt, Duke of Lancaster, who led the party opposed to the political power of the clergy.

The chief opponent of the anti-clerical party was William of Wykeham, the great royal and ecclesiastical architect, who had become Bishop of Winchester and in 1367 chancellor. The failure of English arms in France was popularly ascribed to Wykeham, the chief minister, and in 1371 the Commons in Parliament petitioned against the government being carried on by Churchmen. Wykeham resigned the chancellorship, and the Lancastrian party came into power, but failed completely to stop the disasters abroad. At home affairs were equally unsatisfactory. The king, since the death of Queen Philippa, had fallen under the evil influence of Alice Perrers,

the extravagance of the Court was greater than ever, and ministers were suspected of corruption. The crisis culminated in the "Good Parliament" of 1376, when the Black Prince, the friend of Wykeham, put himself at the head of the opposition. The Commons impeached Lord Latimer, Lord Neville, and Richard Lyons. The accused were found guilty of financial frauds. Alice Perrers was then attacked and sentenced to banishment. In the midst of these proceedings the Black Prince died; but in spite of this loss to their side, the Commons, fearing the intrigues of John of Gaunt against his nephew, insisted on seeing Prince Edward's heir, Richard of Bordeaux. They also demanded the addition to the royal council of twelve new councillors, amongst whom was Wykeham, and they presented one hundred and forty petitions dealing with various abuses.

As soon as Parliament dispersed, John of Gaunt recalled the impeached ministers, dismissed the new councillors, and imprisoned De la Mare, the Speaker of the Commons. Wykeham was accused of peculation, and tried by a great council at Westminster. The temporalities of his see were sequestrated. Convocation retorted by an attack on Wyclif, the dependent of John of Gaunt, whose views on the relations of Church and State were becoming notorious. Wyclif was summoned to appear before the bishops and came to St. Paul's, accompanied by John of Gaunt, Lord Percy, and other powerful supporters. The insolent behaviour of Duke John towards Courtenay, Bishop of London, whom he assailed with threats of violence, caused the Londoners to break in on the proceedings, and the duke barely escaped with his life. Wyclif, who did not share his unpopularity, was unharmed. Amidst these bitter conflicts at home and failures abroad, Edward III. ended his reign in 1377.

12. Constitutional Progress under Edward III.—

The contrast between the thirteenth and fourteenth centuries has been sharply drawn by historians. With the advent of the fourteenth century "we pass from the age of heroism to the age of chivalry, from a century ennobled by devotion and

self-sacrifice to one in which the gloss of superficial refinement fails to hide the reality of heartless selfishness and moral degradation." (Stubbs.) The foundation of the Order of the Garter by Edward III., with great pomp, during the ravages of the Black Death, and the massacre at Limoges, ordered by the Black Prince, illustrate the darker side of chivalry. But none the less the century had most important results, for it marked the growth of the House of Commons to its full share of power. In 1295 the Commons were the weakest of the three estates; by 1400 they were the foremost of the three. Their rise to power was mainly due to three causes.

(a) The Union of the Knights and Burgesses in One House.—The Commons consisted of two elements, knights of the shire and burgesses. The former as minor tenants-in-chief had originally shared with the great barons the right of attendance in the Magnum Concilium, and at first they tended to act in conjunction with the barons, deliberating apart from the burgesses and voting a different share of taxation. Before long, however, they threw in their lot with the majority of the representatives, so that in 1341 they are found sitting and acting with the citizens and burgesses. The knights of the shire from their position and antecedents formed the natural leaders of the Commons, and it was by them that the battles of the Constitution in the fourteenth century were fought and won.

(b) The Divisions amongst the Barons.—These no longer formed a body with interests distinct alike from Crown and Commons, and they tended to fall into groups in alliance with one or the other.

(c) The War with France.—The constant need of money forced the Crown to appeal to the nation for support, and by their "power of the purse" the Commons could use the royal necessities as opportunities to obtain concessions.

13. Powers of Parliament under Edward III.—These may be summed up under the following heads:—

(a) Legislation.—In 1322 Edward II., in repealing the ordinances, had laid down that all three estates must be

consulted on matters touching the realm. This implied the legislative action of the Commons, which at this period took the form of petitions. The Commons drew up a petition embodying the redress of some grievance, and if the Crown assented, the Royal Council drew up a statute on the lines of the petition. The method was, however, unsatisfactory in its working, for the Commons complained that the statute did not embody the points in their petition, or that clauses saving the rights of the king were inserted, thus nullifying the concession.

(b). Taxation.—In 1297, by the *Confirmatio Cartarum*, Edward I. had promised not to levy “such manner of aids, mises or prises, except by the common assent of the realm.” The vague wording of the clause left the Crown opportunities for taxation without the consent of Parliament, and throughout Edward III.’s reign there was a struggle on the part of the Commons to bring all forms of taxation under their control. Thus the Crown in 1340 had to surrender the right of tallages, *i.e.* of taxing the royal towns. In 1362 purveyance was severely restricted by statute, and in 1371 Parliament forced the king to give up the practice of increasing the export duty on wool by private arrangement with the merchants. An Act forbade any increase of the kind without the consent of Parliament. In 1373 the import duties on wine and general merchandise were brought under Parliamentary control. Thus by the close of the reign Parliament had gained a hold on all the main sources of taxation. But besides controlling the raising of taxation, Parliament now aimed at seeing that it was properly spent. Hence the practice known as the “Appropriation of Supplies.” Money was not granted in large sums to be expended as the king chose, but was allotted to definite objects. Thus in 1353 the taxes granted were ordered to be spent on the French war. To make this practice effective, Parliament claimed the right to appoint commissioners to audit the accounts, but this the king successfully resisted, and it was not secured till the following reign.

(c) Control of the Administration.—The most obvious

way to effect this was that of having a voice in the appointment of ministers, a right for which there were precedents in the thirteenth century, viz. in the minority of Henry III., and during the years 1258 to 1264, when the Provisions of Oxford were in force. Edward II. had also been forced to concede the right in the ordinances of 1311. But under Edward III., although it was claimed in 1341, it was not successfully upheld. In 1376 Parliament, as we have seen, asserted its authority over ministers by impeaching Latimer, Lyons, and Neville.

(*d*) **Foreign Policy.**—As foreign wars meant heavy taxation it was clearly wise for the king to consult Parliament as to his policy. Hence we find Edward III. obtaining the consent of Parliament to his assumption of the title of King of France. Later on the Treaty of Brétigni was ratified by Parliament.

CHIEF EVENTS.

	A. D.
Treaty of Northampton	1328.
Battle of Halidon Hill	1333.
Edward claims the French throne	1337.
Battle of Sluys	1340.
Battle of Créci	1346.
Statute of Labourers	1351.
Battle of Poitiers	1356.
Peace of Brétigni	1360.
The Good Parliament	1376.

CHAPTER XVII.

RICHARD II. (1377-1399).

1. The Council of Regency.—Richard II., now in his eleventh year, succeeded to a heritage of trouble. England's military and naval power had collapsed, and the French were plundering the south coasts. The nation was worn out by the long war, and torn by dissensions political, religious, and economic. Fortunately the first measures of the reign were directed towards a general reconciliation. Richard remained in the care of his mother, Joan of Kent, and a council of regency was appointed with representatives from both parties. William of Wykeham was declared guiltless of the offences alleged against him, while Wyclif was consulted by the Government on the relations of England to the Pope. In 1378 the Great Schism in the Papacy, which lasted thirty-eight years, began, and a period disastrous for the whole Church followed.

2. The Revolt of the Villans (1381).—The Statute of Labourers (1351) had proved a failure, and the manorial lords therefore tried to protect themselves against the ruinous rise of wages by reversing the system of commuting labour dues for money payments. The villans naturally objected to the upsetting of a bargain because it had ceased to be favourable to their lords. Much of their hostility was directed against the monastic bodies, and a connexion has been traced between this and Wyclif's teaching on the subject of rights of property, and his attacks on the possessions of the clergy. It seems clear that Wyclif's "poor priests," by their fierce denunciations of existing ecclesiastical order, had stirred up the people and created a dangerous spirit of discontent. The

revolt, however, cannot be ascribed to any one cause, although the oppressive conduct of the manorial lords gave undoubtedly the strongest impulse to it. The primary demand of the villans was for personal freedom and a fixed rent for their land of fourpence per acre.

The revolt broke out almost simultaneously in Essex and Kent, and in the latter county the rebels rose under Wat Tyler to resist the poll-tax ordered by Parliament. The rapid spread of the movement to all the south-eastern counties showed that it had been long prepared. The Kentish men marched on Canterbury and thence to London, where they destroyed the palace of John of Gaunt, whom they considered their bitterest enemy. From all sides rebels converged on London, and on their march they destroyed, wherever they could, the manorial rolls, which were the legal records of their serfdom. The Government for the moment was paralysed, but the situation was saved by the young king. Richard met the Essex men at Mile End, and prevailed on them to return home by promising the abolition of villanage. During his absence the Kentish men forced their way into the Tower and murdered Archbishop Sudbury, the chancellor, and Hales the treasurer. Next day Richard met them at Smithfield in order to negotiate, and during the interview Wat Tyler was struck down by Walworth, the lord mayor. Richard, with astonishing coolness for a lad of sixteen, at once rode alone into the ranks of the rebels and successfully claimed their allegiance. He promised them freedom from bondage, and led them to Clerkenwell Fields, where they were surrounded by royal troops, and, surrendering at discretion, were dismissed to their homes. In the other counties—for the revolt spread north to Yorkshire and west to Somersetshire—the risings were summarily put down. Parliament was summoned, and refused to sanction Richard's promises to the villans, on the ground that Richard could not give away the rights of his subjects. It censured the Government as being, through its incompetence, the cause of the recent troubles, and appointed a commission to reform the royal household. In 1382 Richard

married Anne of Bohemia, and, in honour of the occasion, a general pardon was issued to the rebels. To all appearances, therefore, the rising had failed, but, in reality, villanage had received its death-blow. Although in theory it lingered on, the practice of commuting labour dues became practically universal, and improved methods of cultivation and tenure relieved the landlords from their difficulties. By the close of the Middle Ages serfdom as a general system was extinct in England.

3. The Condemnation of Wyclif.—In some of his writings Wyclif had asserted that sin deprives a man of all rights of property, that all property should be held in common, and that the Church should hold no possessions. These propositions were doubtless matters of theory, but Wyclif's powerful position, both intellectual and political, gave vast influence to his teaching. Moreover, the attacks of the rebels on Church property, receiving as they did no condemnation from Wyclif, illustrated in a startling manner the practical dangers of such theories. Since the development of the Great Schism, Wyclif had passed from ominous speculations to overt attacks on the whole Church system. A stream of pamphlets, written in that terse vivid English which has won for him the title of the founder of English prose writing, poured contempt on the papal claims, the episcopate, monks, friars, Confession and Indulgences, and the seven Sacraments. His denial of the doctrine of Transubstantiation in 1381 led, in 1382, to the summons of a council of bishops by Courtenay, now Archbishop of Canterbury, at which Wyclif's teaching was condemned. The University of Oxford, which was the centre of Wyclif's activity, although repudiating his sacramental theories, refused to obey the archbishop's mandate to put down erroneous teaching. The Government therefore interfered, and, under the double pressure of royal and episcopal authority, the University was purged of heretical teachers and writings. Some of Wyclif's chief adherents submitted, but Wyclif himself was unmolested, and died in 1384 at Lutterworth.

4. **The Lords Appellant.**—Although the king by his conduct in 1381 had shown capacity for leadership, he found himself in 1385 still under the control of Parliament and of the great nobles. Chafing at the restriction, he gathered round him a body of favourites, amongst whom were Michael de la Pole, who was chancellor and Earl of Suffolk, and De Vere, Earl of Oxford, who was created Duke of Ireland. John of Gaunt was in Spain prosecuting claims to the throne of Castile, but his younger brother, Thomas of Woodstock, Duke of Gloucester, now headed a body of nobles, who were determined to keep the king in leading-strings. These included Henry of Bolingbroke, Earl of Derby, the son of John of Gaunt, and the Earls of Warwick, Nottingham, and Arundel. Seizing the opportunity afforded by the heavy taxation for the French war, which since the beginning of the reign had run a costly and disastrous course, the Opposition in Parliament in 1386 impeached Suffolk. Richard at first refused to allow his servant to be attacked, but gave way when Gloucester threatened him with the fate of Edward II. Suffolk was condemned, and a commission of eleven magnates was appointed, setting aside the king's authority for a year.

Richard was determined not to yield without a struggle. He obtained a decision from the judges that the appointment of the commission was treasonable, and he made a rapid progress through the country, calling on the sheriffs to raise forces for his defence. Gloucester, Warwick, and Arundel took up arms, and advancing on London, whither the king had retired, they accused his chief adherents of treason and forced him to order the arrest of his friends. Henry of Bolingbroke defeated De Vere at Radcot Bridge, and the latter, with Suffolk and Archbishop Neville, fled abroad. Early in 1388 the so-called "Merciless Parliament" met. The king was helpless, and his enemies were triumphant. The five hostile nobles, Gloucester, Warwick, Arundel, Nottingham, and Derby, "appealed of treason," *i.e.* accused, five of the king's adherents, Suffolk, De Vere, Tressilian, Brember, and Archbishop Neville. The Lords condemned

the accused laymen to death, and Neville to forfeit his temporalities. Tressilian and Brember, who had been captured, were executed. Four minor adherents of the king suffered death, and the cruelly vindictive conduct of the "Lords Appellant" was rewarded by a Parliamentary grant of £20,000. For a year Richard submitted, but in May, 1389, on the ground that he was of age, he suddenly shook off the control of his conquerors, and publicly declared that he meant to administer the kingdom.

5. Richard as Constitutional King (1389-1397).—For eight years Richard ruled constitutionally. No attempt was made either to recall his three favourites, who had escaped, or take vengeance on the appellant lords. Truces with France stopped the heavy drain on the nation, and taxation was therefore moderate. The king's relations with Parliament were excellent. In 1390 he ordered his ministers to resign and submit themselves to the judgment of Parliament; the two Houses declared that there were no complaints, and the ministers resumed their functions. Some important legislation was passed, including the famous Statute of Præmunire, 1393. The appellant lords were restored to favour, and appeared in royal council. The only danger was the spread of the influence of the Lollards, as the followers of Wyclif were now called, but no severe measures were taken against them. This period of the reign, therefore, is on the whole one of political pacification, and Richard's conduct, which up to 1389 recalls that of Edward II., now seems to anticipate that of Henry IV.

6. Richard's Attempt at Despotism (1397-1398).—About 1397 Richard's conduct changed. In 1394 Richard's queen, Anne of Bohemia, had died, and in 1396 he married a second wife, Isabella, daughter of Charles VI. of France. The Court became extravagant, and Richard borrowed lavishly on all sides. When Parliament met, Sir Thomas Haxey, a proctor of the clergy, urged the Commons to reform the royal household. The Commons accepted the bill, but Richard at once interfered, and insisted that it was an attack on his prerogative. The Commons apologised, and Haxey was condemned by

Parliament to die as a traitor, a fate from which he was only saved by Archbishop Arundel. Richard now seems to have determined to take his long delayed vengeance on Gloucester, Warwick, and Arundel. He had already won over Derby and Nottingham, and could count on their support. The three Appellants were arrested, and were appealed of treason in the Parliament of 1397. They were condemned, and Arundel was executed forthwith. Warwick, by submitting, escaped with a sentence of imprisonment for life, while Gloucester was found dead at Calais, where he was imprisoned. Richard's triumph was completed by the Parliament of Shrewsbury in 1398, which granted him a revenue for life, and delegated its authority to a committee of eighteen of his adherents.

7. The Deposition of Richard (1399).—The king could not feel himself safe while Nottingham and Derby were still unpunished, although he had rewarded them by making Nottingham Duke of Norfolk, and Derby Duke of Hereford. The latter had already betrayed to Richard the fact that Norfolk did not believe in the pardon granted to them for their conduct in 1388. This treachery provoked a quarrel between the two dukes, and it was decided that they should decide the matter by combat at Coventry. Richard, however, suddenly interrupted the proceedings and banished them both. On the death of John of Gaunt in 1399, Richard, in defiance of his promises to Hereford, seized the Lancastrian estates. Leaving his uncle, Edmund, Duke of York, as regent, he then crossed over to Ireland. Henry of Lancaster at once landed in Yorkshire to claim his Lancastrian inheritance, and marched westward towards Bristol. He was joined by the great nobles of the north, led by Percy, Earl of Northumberland, and by the regent, Edmund of York, and when Richard landed in Wales he found himself deserted by his friends. Henry still maintained the fiction that he had come only to claim his estates, and he now obtained the surrender of the king at Flint Castle by asserting that his aim was to help Richard to govern better. But Henry soon threw off the mask, and Richard was hurried to London and imprisoned in the Tower. Parliament was

summoned, but before it met Richard had signed his abdication, declaring himself insufficient and useless, and not unworthy to be deposed. The deed of resignation was read before the assembled Parliament, and accepted by the three estates. Parliament then formally declared Richard to be deposed. Henry of Lancaster claimed the throne, and with the assent of Parliament was proclaimed king.

CHIEF EVENTS.

	A. D.
The Villans' Revolt	1381.
Death of Wyclif	1384.
Merciless Parliament	1388.
Parliament of Shrewsbury	1398.

CHAPTER XVIII.

HENRY IV. (1399-1413).

1. The House of Lancaster.—The accession of the House of Lancaster marks an important epoch in English history. Throughout the fourteenth century the struggle between the royal prerogative and the expanding claims of Parliament had gone on with varying results. On the whole, victory had lain on the side of Parliament, and especially of the Third Estate. During the greater part of the reign of Richard II., Parliament had exercised the rights of controlling legislation and taxation which had been vindicated under Edward III., and it had made good its claim to appropriate supplies and to audit accounts. So important had the House of Commons become, that it seemed wiser to the party in power to influence its composition than to attempt to resist it. Twice during the last thirty years of the century the packing of Parliament was attempted, in 1377 in the Lancastrian interest, in 1387 in that of the Crown.

In the eight years of constitutional rule under Richard II., the constitutional development of the century seemed to reach its climax. For two years indeed it was in grave danger, for Richard fell not from misgovernment alone, but because he challenged the nation to decide between the old constitution and a new despotism. The personal grievances of Henry of Lancaster brought matters to a crisis, and Henry himself succeeded to the throne, because men saw, as his biographer tells us, that he would rule “not so much by title of blood as by popular election.” It remained to be proved whether a king, guided if not overshadowed by Parliament, could govern effectively.

2. The Conspiracy of the Hollands (1400).—Although Richard had fallen without a friend raising a hand to save him, he was not without partisans, and before Henry had reigned three months, these were conspiring to restore him. Amongst the conspirators were the Earl of Rutland, son of the Duke of York, the two Hollands, the Earls of Huntingdon and Kent, who were the step-brother and step-nephew respectively of Richard II., together with John Beaufort, Earl of Somerset, and Montague, Earl of Salisbury. All these had been deprived of titles and honours in Henry's first Parliament, and their loyalty had been treated as suspect. Their scheme was to seize Henry at Windsor, and proclaim Richard, whom for greater security the new Government had removed to Pontefract. Rutland betrayed the plot to Henry, and the king struck at once. The Earls of Kent and Salisbury were killed by the mob at Cirencester, and the Earl of Huntingdon was captured in Essex and beheaded. The failure of the rising made Richard's death inevitable, and the late king was secretly murdered at Pontefract.

3. The Welsh Rebellion (1401).—Henry's position was still insecure, for Charles VI. of France treated him as a usurper, and the renewal of the French war was expected. To ward off a Scottish attack, Henry himself led a fruitless expedition across the border. In Wales there was a serious rising, led by Owen Glendower, a Welsh landowner, who proclaimed himself Prince of Wales. Henry hurried to the west, and led an expedition into north Wales. But Glendower retired to the mountains, and the king, unable to deal with an enemy who evaded his attack, gave up the attempt in despair. A second expedition in 1401 had no greater success. In 1402 Henry determined on a great effort to crush the rebellion. A large army was marched into the disaffected district, but incessant rains made operations impracticable, and after three weeks' campaigning Henry returned to England.

4. The Battle of Homildon Hill, and the Revolt of the Percies (1402-1403).—While Henry had been waging an inglorious warfare in Wales, his supporters the Percies had

achieved a brilliant success against the Scots. In the summer of 1402 a Scottish army entered England and pushed their raid as far as Newcastle, but on their return journey found their retreat cut off by an English force under the two Percies, the Earl of Northumberland and his eldest son, Henry, surnamed "Hotspur." The Scots were defeated at Homildon Hill, and their leaders, the Earl of Douglas and the Earl of Fife, with other Scottish nobles, were captured. The victory was wholly due to the superiority of the English archers. This great service rendered by the Percies to Henry was the cause of the most dangerous insurrection of the reign. Since his accession his popularity had steadily declined. Taxation had been heavy, and Henry's own military attempts had proved futile. There was a widely spread rumour that Richard II. was not dead, and an impostor had appeared at the Court of Robert III. of Scotland, and had been recognised as the late king. Apart from this there were the claims of Edmund, Earl of March, the great-grandson of Lionel, Duke of Clarence, third son of Edward III., who by the rules of hereditary succession was heir to Richard II. Henry owed his throne mainly to the support of the Percies, and both the Earl of Northumberland and his son had spent their fortunes in resisting the Welsh and Scots. In 1403 they complained to the king, though apparently without justification, that their services had not been rewarded, and Hotspur, in spite of the king's orders, refused to part with his prisoner the Earl of Douglas. Moreover, during the Welsh war Sir Richard Mortimer, uncle of the young Earl of March, and brother-in-law of Hotspur, had been captured by Glendower, and Henry offended Hotspur by refusing to allow Mortimer to be ransomed, being probably glad to keep one of the rival family out of the way.

The Percies retaliated by a great conspiracy, which was joined by a third Percy, Thomas Earl of Worcester, brother to the Earl of Northumberland. Henry Hotspur advanced into Cheshire, where Richard II. had always been popular, and having gathered a large force moved southward, hoping to effect a junction with Owen Glendower, with whom his father

had signed a treaty. He encountered Henry at Shrewsbury, which the king had reached on the previous day, after a forced march from Lichfield. Hotspur took up his position about three miles north of the town, and here was fought one of the fiercest battles on English soil. Henry commanded in person, and under him served his son Henry, a lad of fifteen. The royal arms gained a decisive victory, and Hotspur was slain. His uncle, the Earl of Worcester, was captured, and two days later was executed for treason. The Earl of Northumberland met Henry at York and submitted.

5. The Last Conspiracies of the Reign (1405-1408).—

Henry followed up his victory at Shrewsbury by another raid into Wales, but he was now convinced that the repression of Glendower was beyond his resources, and he therefore contented himself with strengthening the border fortresses and returned to London, leaving Prince Henry in command of the Welsh Marches. In 1405 Henry had again to face trouble from the Percy faction. The aged Earl of Northumberland, who had escaped so lightly in 1403, conspired with Thomas, Lord Mowbray, and Scrope, Archbishop of York, to raise the north in rebellion. The archbishop and Mowbray led the rebels to Shipton Moor, near York, where they were met by Ralph Neville, Earl of Westmoreland, and Prince John, the king's third son. Negotiations followed, and the leaders of the rebels, deceived by Westmoreland's promise to co-operate in securing their demands, dismissed their forces. Westmoreland at once arrested Scrope and Mowbray, and Henry, after an informal trial, ordered their immediate execution. Undismayed by the universal horror excited by this atrocious deed, Henry struck north in pursuit of Northumberland. The earl fled to Scotland and thence to France, while the king reduced the strongholds of the Percy family. About this time, by a stroke of good fortune, Henry secured a valuable hostage in the person of James, the son and heir of Robert III. of Scotland. The young prince was on his way to France to be educated at the French Court, but he was captured by an English ship, and remained in England for eighteen years,

although the death of Robert in 1406 made him King of Scotland.

In 1408 the veteran intriguer, the Earl of Northumberland, ended his career by trying to raise a rebellion in Yorkshire. He was defeated and killed at Bramham Moor. This ended the conspiracies against Henry. In other directions his position was now secure. Glendower maintained his independence, but the Welsh were confined to their own hills, and no longer ventured to cross the borders. The French had been defeated at sea, and the outbreak of civil war in France in 1407 removed all danger from that quarter. Charles VI. was imbecile, and the control of the government was disputed by the Dukes of Burgundy and Orleans. Orleans was murdered, and civil war followed between the Burgundians and Armagnacs, as the Orleans party was now called.

6. Constitutional Progress.—Throughout this reign Henry was hampered by want of money, and Parliament gained further powers by taking advantage of the royal necessities. In 1401 the Commons obtained a pledge from Henry that he would not take notice of proceedings in Parliament before they were completed. In 1404 the Commons insisted on the removal of four persons from attendance on the king, and the royal household was put on an allowance of £12,000 a year. In 1406 the Commons drew up a scheme of reform, which almost amounted to taking all power from the king's hands. In 1407 the rule was established that all grants of money must be initiated in the Commons. Throughout the reign the Commons assumed a dictatorial tone; the king and his ministers were lectured on their defects, and the extravagance of the royal household was condemned.

7. The End of the Reign.—For some years Henry had suffered from a disease which contemporaries believed to be leprosy. In 1410 his health failed so much that Prince Henry, supported by his cousins the Beauforts, assumed the direction of the government. The king seems to have shown some jealousy of his son's influence, and in 1411 was bitterly

aggrieved by the suggestion that he should resign the crown. The estrangement between father and son caused the latter to retire from affairs. But he had not long to wait, for Henry died early in 1413, broken in health and spirit.

CHIEF EVENTS.

	A. D.
Battle of Homildon Hill	1402.
Battle of Shrewsbury	1403.
Execution of Mowbray and Archbishop Scrope	1405.
Initiation of money bills secured to the Commons	1407.

CHAPTER XIX.

HENRY V. (1413-1422).

1. Henry's Character.—Some picturesque legends have gathered round the youth of Henry V., and have been immortalised by Shakespeare. But his life, since he was fifteen, had been spent in camp or in the council room; his pressing cares as guardian of the Welsh Marches must have left him little time for idle pleasure, and after 1407, when he ceased to take part in Welsh campaigns, he had other duties laid upon him by the declining health of his father. He was a high-spirited youth, ambitious, and liable to partisanship, but his accession to the throne increased his sense of responsibility and strengthened his character. "A true Englishman, with all the greatnesses and none of the glaring faults of his Plantagenet ancestors, he stands forth as the typical mediæval hero. At the same time he was a laborious man of business, a self-denying and hardy warrior, a cultivated scholar, and a most devout and charitable Christian." (Stubbs.)

2. Henry V. and the Lollards.—At the outset Henry showed that he did not intend to rule as the head of a party, the position forced on Henry IV. by the circumstances of his accession. His measures, therefore, were directed towards the pacification of political antagonisms. The only events of importance were connected with the suppression of the Lollards. In 1401 a statute had been passed known as "de Haeretico comburendo," by which heretics who refused to abjure were to be handed over to the sheriff to be burned. The number of Lollards who suffered the extreme penalty was not large, for many recanted, but the spread of their doctrines continued

to alarm the nation, all the more because of the communistic ideas associated with Wyclif's teaching. At the accession of Henry V., the Lollards were still an influential party. The chief Lollard leader was Sir John Oldcastle, known as Lord Cobham, a personal friend of the young king. He was summoned by the archbishop to recant his errors, but refused to appear, and was therefore arrested and condemned. He escaped from the Tower and remained at large for four years. In 1414 a conspiracy was formed to seize the king, and on this failing, the Lollards held a great meeting in St. Giles' Fields, hoping apparently to overawe the Government. Henry posted a strong force in the Fields, and a number of Lollards were arrested and executed. Oldcastle escaped, and after leading a wandering life, was finally captured and executed in 1417. The Lollard movement gradually dwindled, and by the close of the century was comparatively unimportant.

3. The Outbreak of War with France.—In the spring of 1415, Henry laid formal claim to the throne of France. His claim was an attempt to revive the pretensions of Edward III., but, in view of the fact that Henry's title to the English throne was only a Parliamentary one, and that by the strict rule of hereditary succession the Earl of March should have been King of England, it is clear that Henry's claim to France was untenable. The disturbed state of France, however, invited aggression. The French king, Charles VI., had been for some years hopelessly insane, and the kingdom in consequence was torn by a struggle between the north and east of France under John the Fearless, Duke of Burgundy, the king's cousin, and the south and west under Louis, Duke of Orleans, the king's brother. In 1407 the Duke of Orleans was murdered in Paris by a Burgundian partisan, and the Duke of Burgundy accepted responsibility for the crime. The young Duke of Orleans, therefore, vowed vengeance on his father's murderer, and to strengthen himself, married the daughter of Bernard, Count of Armagnac, a powerful noble of the south, and a skilful warrior. From this alliance the Orleanist party

gained the name of Armagnacs. Both Burgundians and Armagnacs had appealed to England under Henry IV., and in 1411, through the influence of Prince Henry, help had been sent to the Burgundians. But in the following year the Prince had lost favour with his father, and English policy was reversed. Henry IV.'s second son, Thomas, led an expedition to France to help the Armagnacs. At the accession of Henry V., both sides again appealed to England, but Henry, after some hesitation, determined to claim the French throne, and prepared to invade France. The army met at Southampton, but was delayed by the discovery of a conspiracy on the part of Richard, Earl of Cambridge, to proclaim his brother-in-law, the Earl of March, King of England, as soon as Henry had left the country. The Earl of Cambridge was arrested and executed. No measures were taken against the Earl of March, as he was not implicated in the plot.

Starting from Southampton with 30,000 men, Henry landed at Havre and laid siege to Harfleur, which surrendered after an obstinate defence, during which the English army was much reduced by disease. Henry therefore decided to march northwards and return to England by Calais. To cross the Somme he had to go much out of his way, and when the crossing was effected above Péronne, he found his march northward barred by a strong French army. He therefore halted his troops near Agincourt and prepared for battle. The French outnumbered the English by at least three to one, but Henry, seeing that they would not begin the battle, ordered his men to advance. Once again the English archers repeated the tactics which had prevailed at Créçi and Poitiers. The French, huddled together in close formation, could not take advantage of their numbers, and offered a conspicuous target for the showers of arrows poured on them. After a fierce struggle the first and second lines of the French were defeated, and the third line was easily routed. Ten thousand French were killed; two royal princes, the Dukes of Bourbon and Orleans, and an immense number of prisoners were captured. Four days later Henry reached Calais, and after a short stay, sailed for England.

4. Henry's Second Campaign (1417-1420).—Henry's victory made him the arbiter of western Europe, and the greatness of his international position is seen in the visit paid to England by Sigismund, King of the Romans and emperor elect. Sigismund was engaged at this moment in an attempt to heal the schism in the Papacy which had been raging since 1378. Two lines of rival Popes claimed the allegiance of the faithful, and Europe was divided into two groups. Of these Germany and England acknowledged Urban VI. and his successors, Boniface IX., Innocent VII., and Gregory XII.; while France, Spain, Scotland, and Sicily recognised Clement VII., and his successor, Benedict XIII. In 1409 the Council of Pisa had striven to close the schism by decreeing the deposition of Gregory XII. and Benedict XIII., and by electing Alexander V. But this had only made matters more confused by creating a third claimant to the Papacy. Alexander V. was succeeded by John XXIII., and under pressure from Sigismund, the Pope summoned a council to meet at Constance in 1414. Terrible charges were brought against the character of John XXIII., and the Pope fled from Constance to Schaffhausen. The Council decreed his deposition. Sigismund then left Constance to visit France and England. His aim was to procure the resignation of Gregory XII. and Benedict XIII., and to pose as the pacificator of Europe by negotiating a peace between France and England. The schism was healed by the election of Martin V. in 1417, but the struggle between Henry V. and Charles VI. was not stopped. Sigismund himself abandoned the *rôle* of mediator, and signed a treaty with England against France.

In 1417 Henry settled down to the conquest of Normandy, and for three years the struggle raged round the Norman fortresses. The siege and capture of Rouen in 1419 completed the conquest of the province, and the fall of Pontoise opened the road to Paris. The imminent danger of conquest caused both the French factions to enter into negotiations with Henry, but the latter's lowest terms included the cession of all the English gains acquired by the Treaty of Brétigni in 1360,

together with Normandy, Anjou, Maine, and Brittany. The Dauphin Charles was bitterly hostile to John the Fearless, and his mother, Queen Isabella, had, till 1417, shared the same hatred for the Duke of Burgundy. But she now quarrelled with the Armagnacs, and abandoning her hostility to Burgundy, she reconciled herself to the duke. The terms demanded by Henry roused for the moment the national spirit of France, and a truce was concluded between the rival factions. A meeting was arranged between the Dauphin Charles and Duke John on the bridge at Montereau. Instead of a reconciliation, however, the duke was murdered by the Dauphin's followers, and his son Philip, in revenge, declared himself a partisan of Henry V. As Queen Isabella was eager for any terms which involved the exclusion of her detested son from the throne of France, a settlement was soon agreed on. The result was the Treaty of Troyes, 1420. Henry was recognised as heir to the French throne, and was to govern as regent during the lifetime of Charles VI. He was married to Princess Catherine, the daughter of the French king. By a separate treaty with Burgundy, Henry agreed to join with the duke in crushing the Armagnacs.

5. Henry's Third Campaign and Death (1420-1422).

—After a triumphant entry into Paris, Henry returned to England with his young queen, leaving his brother, the Duke of Clarence, as his lieutenant in France. In England Henry and his bride were received with acclamations, and he made a progress through the kingdom, visiting the chief towns and making pilgrimages to some of the famous shrines. But his progress was cut short by the news of a disaster in France. The Armagnacs were still powerful south of the Loire, and held some strong positions to the north of the river. Clarence and the Burgundians set themselves to reduce these strongholds. In 1421 the allies encountered a contingent of French and Scottish troops at Beaugé, in Anjou, and were defeated, Clarence being amongst the slain. Henry at once returned to France and established his supremacy in the district north of the Loire. Early in 1422 he was joined in Paris by Queen

Catherine, with her son, an infant of six months. But Henry's health was now rapidly failing and he had to leave the command of military operations to his brother, John, Duke of Bedford. Attacked by dysentery he was carried to Bois de Vincennes, and spent his last hours in making arrangements for the government of the two kingdoms and in devoutly preparing for death.

Although Henry died at the early age of thirty-four, he left on his contemporaries the impression of commanding abilities, united to a singularly upright and religious disposition. He excelled in every virtue that can adorn the throne; brave, temperate, chaste, he was a constitutional king, faithful to his plighted word and beloved by his subjects. He was a brilliant strategist and was in advance of his times in his consideration for his enemies. Plunder and outrage, the accompaniments of mediæval warfare, were sternly repressed by his orders. Had he lived to the normal span of life, it is probable that he would have found the task of holding France in subjection to be beyond his resources; but even during his short rule over the French possessions, he showed by his upright government a marked contrast to the miserable results wrought by the ignoble strife of Burgundians and Armagnacs. Henry is the last of England's great kings, and it would seem that in his person were summed up the virtues and abilities of Alfred and Edward I., together with the brilliant, but less noble qualities of Henry II. and Edward III.

CHIEF EVENTS.

	A.D.
Henry claims the French throne	1415.
Battle of Agincourt	1415.
Conquest of Normandy	1417-1419.
Treaty of Troyes	1420.

CHAPTER XX.

HENRY VI. (1422-1461).

(1) THE LOSS OF FRANCE (1422-1453).

1. The Regency.—Henry VI. was nine months old at his accession to the English throne, and the death of his grandfather, the imbecile Charles VI., less than two months later brought him the Crown of France. The Dauphin, however, at once took the title of Charles VII., and his prospects of ultimate success were favourable ; for in spite of all the victories of Henry V. the English hold on France was confined to a triangular district, whose base was the coast from the river Somme to Brittany and its apex Paris. South of the Loire the rule of Charles was not disputed, but in the north and east he had formidable enemies, the most important being the Duke of Burgundy. The chief danger to the French national cause lay, however, in the character of Charles himself. Indolent, listless, unwarlike, he left to others the task of fighting for national independence, and his final triumph was due to the splendid impulse given to his cause by Jeanne d'Arc and to the disunion amongst the English.

As the Duke of Bedford was busy in France, his younger brother, Humphrey, Duke of Gloucester, claimed the regency in England. This was refused by Parliament, and Bedford was appointed Protector of the realm and chief counsellor of the king. In his absence the same position was to be occupied by Gloucester. A Council of Regency was appointed by Parliament, including the leading nobles and bishops, and its powers were carefully defined.

2. Political and Military Events (1423-1426).—

Meanwhile Bedford was occupied in measures to strengthen the alliance with the Dukes of Burgundy and Brittany, on which the English position in France so largely depended. In 1423 a treaty was concluded at Amiens providing for a defensive and offensive alliance with Burgundy and Brittany, and Bedford married Anne, sister of the Duke of Burgundy. Bedford's policy of maintaining the Burgundian alliance was nevertheless at once weakened by the conduct of Gloucester. Jacqueline, the heiress of Hainault, had deserted her husband, the Duke of Brabant, cousin of Philip of Burgundy, and, in spite of the refusal of Pope Martin V. to annul her marriage, contracted a union with Humphrey of Gloucester. Hainault was important to the Burgundian interest, and the duke was deeply incensed when Gloucester proceeded to push Jacqueline's claims by threatening to wrest Hainault from her lawful husband the Duke of Brabant.

The campaigns of 1423 and 1424 were not on a large scale, but the English won two victories of some importance. In 1423 a force of Scottish and French troops was defeated by the Earl of Salisbury at Crevant, on the borders of Burgundy, and in 1424 Bedford inflicted a crushing defeat on the French at Verneuil. The French army contained a large contingent of Scots, which was almost annihilated. Scottish interference in France now practically ceased, for early in 1424 James I. of Scotland was released, after eighteen years captivity in England, and a truce for seven years was agreed upon. James returned to Scotland with his bride, Jane Beaufort, granddaughter of John of Gaunt. These successes were neutralised to some extent by the foolishness of Gloucester, who in 1424 attempted to invade Hainault and Brabant. This nearly provoked a reconciliation between Charles VII. and Philip of Burgundy; but fortunately for the Anglo-Burgundian alliance, Gloucester grew tired both of the campaign and of Jacqueline, and soon after he had returned to England he abandoned Jacqueline and married Eleanor Cobham. In England his quarrel with his uncle, Henry Beaufort, Bishop of Winchester, paralysed

the Government, and for the greater part of 1425 and 1426 Bedford was detained in England in the capacity of peace-maker.

3. The Career of Jeanne d'Arc (1428-1431).—Five years had now passed since the accession of Henry VI. to the French throne, but in spite of continual fighting and some successes the English grip on France was loosening. England was already feeling the strain of the long struggle, while France, in spite of her disasters, was entering upon a period of national regeneration. Charles VII. had none of the qualities of a national hero, but forces were gathering which would carry him to success in spite of himself.

In 1428 Bedford decided on an invasion of the country south of the Loire, where Charles had been hitherto secure. As a preliminary the Earl of Salisbury with an army was ordered to lay siege to Orleans on the north bank of the Loire. The death of Salisbury while directing the siege turned it into a blockade, and he was succeeded in the command by the Earl of Suffolk. In 1429 an attempt of the French to capture an English convoy was beaten off by Sir John Fastolf at the "Battle of the Herrings," as the fight was nicknamed on account of the provisions under convoy, and the besieged were in desperate straits when help reached them from an unexpected quarter.

Early in 1429 Jeanne d'Arc, a peasant girl from Domrémy, on the borders of Champagne, had appeared at the Court of Charles VII. at Chinon, claiming to have received a mission from St. Michael and St. Catherine to achieve a twofold task, the relief of Orleans and the coronation of Charles at Rheims. In spite of the rebuffs and cynical treatment on the part of the courtiers, her transparent sincerity and goodness won for her powerful friends at Court, and she was at last admitted to the presence of Charles, to whom she proved her supernatural mission by her knowledge of secrets of which he alone was cognisant. It was agreed that she should be allowed to lead a force which was being raised for the relief of Orleans, and on her arrival with the troops at Blois she sent a message to

Bedford ordering him to raise the siege. Her purity and gentleness worked wonders amongst the dissolute soldiers who followed her standard, while her extraordinary intuition enabled her to disregard with impunity the advice of the trained leaders who accompanied her. At the end of April she entered Orleans with a convoy of provisions, and rousing the garrison by her enthusiasm, she attacked and destroyed several of the forts erected by the besiegers. Ten days after her entry into Orleans the English army retired. Jeanne was now reinforced by recruits from all parts of France, and following up her advantage she pursued the English to Patay, where she defeated and then captured Sir John Talbot, one of the greatest generals of the day, who was in command. The second portion of the task, which her "voices" had ordered her to complete, rapidly followed. Jeanne persuaded Charles to march towards Rheims. The towns on the line of march surrendered, and in the Cathedral at Rheims, less than four months from her arrival at Chinon, Jeanne, clad in her knightly dress and carrying her sacred banner, stood by Charles at his coronation. Her tasks were now achieved, and she asked permission to return to her home. Against her will, and the direction of her "voices," she was persuaded to continue her military career. Jeanne urged the king to attack Paris forthwith, and it is probable that if he had consented the English hold on the capital would have been lost. Bedford was in great alarm and the loyalty of Burgundy was only secured by cessions of territory. But Jeanne's influence was checked by Court intrigues and by the jealousy of the military leaders, who objected to her command. In consequence the move towards Paris was undertaken when it was too late to succeed, and Charles refused to risk himself in attacking Paris, while Jeanne was repulsed and wounded in her attempt. Charles forbade Jeanne to renew the attack and disbanded his army. Throughout the campaign, which in other directions had been successful, Jeanne was thwarted by paltry intrigues, to which Charles himself was a party.

In 1429 Bedford had bought the continued adhesion of Burgundy to the English cause by the cession of Champagne,

which was important to the duke, because its possession would unite his territories in Flanders and Burgundy; and in 1430 Burgundian troops besieged Compiègne, one of the towns in Champagne which Jeanne herself had conquered. With a small body of followers she entered the town, but in a sortie against the besiegers she was repulsed and captured. She was sold to the English by the Duke of Burgundy for 10,000 francs of gold. In 1431 she was tried at Rouen on a charge of sorcery and heresy, and after a trial lasting three months was condemned and burned at the stake. During the prolonged torture of her trial she had wavered in the conviction of her supernatural mission, but at the last she met her death with simple courage and constancy, and with unflinching faith in the reality of the inspirations she had received.

4. The Defection of Philip of Burgundy (1431-1434).—The treachery of Charles in dealing with Jeanne had found a fitting conclusion in the apathy with which he regarded her fate. But she had given voice to the rising sentiment of patriotism, and she had proved that the day of easy victories for the English was over. In 1432 Bedford's wife, the sister of Philip of Burgundy, died, and shortly after Bedford married Jacquetta of Luxemburg. She was a vassal of Philip, and the duke was bitterly aggrieved that his consent had not been asked. A personal rupture between him and Bedford was the result. In England the failure of the war had created a strong peace party, headed by Cardinal Beaufort, Bishop of Winchester. For years a bitter feud had raged between Gloucester and his uncle the cardinal, and Bedford had been constantly hampered by their quarrels. A revolution in the Court of Charles VII. had driven from power the ministers who had thwarted Jeanne, and Charles was now willing to come to terms with Philip of Burgundy. At Nevers, 1435, an agreement was made between Charles and Philip, by which the English were to be offered reasonable terms, and if these were refused, Philip was to aid in pacifying France. A congress was summoned to Arras in 1435, at which Charles offered the cession of Normandy in return for the English renunciation of

all claims on the French throne. The English envoys repudiated these terms and retired from the negotiations. This was followed by a formal peace between Charles and Philip; the French king apologised for the murder of Philip's father, and made a number of territorial cessions. Before these negotiations were completed Bedford had died at Rouen, and his death was followed by the ruin of the aims for which Henry V. had striven. In 1436 Paris opened its gates to Charles, and once more became the capital of France.

5. Richard, Duke of York.—On the death of Bedford the regency was given to the Duke of York, who inherited the claims of two sons of Edward III. On his father's side he was grandson of Edmund, Duke of York, the fifth son of Edward III., while on his mother's side he claimed descent from the third son, Lionel, Duke of Clarence. As the Earl of March, his uncle, had died in 1425, he had a better hereditary claim to the throne than Henry VI. In spite of his ability as a commander, which gained for him some victories, he was unable to do more than act on the defensive. This, however, he did with considerable success, and on the whole no ground was lost in Normandy, while he was in command from 1441 to 1443.

6. The Rivalry between Gloucester and Beaufort.—In 1442 Henry VI. came of age. He had been brought up under the care of Richard Beauchamp, Earl of Warwick, and had been carefully trained in all the physical and mental accomplishments of the age. But his health was delicate, and his mind had been overtaxed by the cares of government and by the sense of the duties of his position. "Pious, pure, generous, patient, simple, true, and just, fastidiously conscientious, moderate, he might have seemed made to rule a quiet people in quiet times." (Stubbs.) But it was his hard lot to succeed to an impossible task, and the stress of anxieties, caused by disasters in France and furious animosities at home, broke down his constitution already prematurely developed, and left him, weakened in mind and body, a helpless victim of the forces which he could not control.

For the moment his assumption of power gave an impulse to the peace party headed by Cardinal Beaufort. In 1444 William de la Pole, Earl of Suffolk, one of the peace party, was sent to France to negotiate terms. Charles VII. refused the English offer of a marriage between one of his daughters and Henry, and Suffolk therefore arranged a marriage between Margaret, daughter of René of Anjou, the brother-in-law of the French king. A truce for ten months was agreed upon at Tours, but it was purchased by the promised surrender of Maine by the English. Suffolk was rewarded for his success with the title of duke.

The truce with France was prolonged till 1448, and by that time the two great rivals, Cardinal Beaufort and Humphrey of Gloucester, were dead. Since 1442 Gloucester's influence had been rapidly waning, for Henry suspected his uncle of designs on the throne, and was displeased with Gloucester's championship of the war party. Gloucester was, moreover, bitterly hostile to the young queen and to Suffolk, who had succeeded to the influence of Cardinal Beaufort. In 1447 Parliament was summoned to Bury St. Edmunds, where Suffolk had plenty of supporters. Gloucester was arrested, and died of the shock. His death occurred at a moment most propitious to the designs of Suffolk, and it was inevitable that the latter should be accused by popular rumour of the murder of his rival. Six weeks later Cardinal Beaufort died at Winchester.

7. The Fall of Suffolk.—The deaths of Gloucester and Cardinal Beaufort left Suffolk supreme in the councils of the nation. Firmly convinced that the English claim to the French throne was impracticable, he wisely aimed at securing at least Normandy and Guienne. But his home policy was dictated by a narrow jealousy which roused enmities on all sides. Edmund Beaufort, now Duke of Somerset in succession to his brother, was given the command in France, while the Duke of York was entrusted with the government of Ireland. The struggle with France was renewed in 1449, and a series of disasters followed. Somerset, an incapable general, was badly supported by the Government, and in 1449 the Norman towns

were captured by the French with comparative ease. By the close of the year the English held only a small number of towns, the most important of which were Harfleur, Caen, and Cherbourg. Roused by these disasters, and stimulated by the cries of treachery raised in England, the Government in 1450 made a great effort, and reinforcements were landed at Cherbourg under Sir Thomas Kyriell; but the army was cut to pieces at Formigny. The defeat was followed by the surrender of Caen and Cherbourg, and this completed the loss of Normandy.

These disasters led inevitably to the overthrow of Suffolk. He was impeached by the Commons and sent to the Tower. Henry, however, had determined not to allow his minister to be seriously harmed, and he therefore took the matter out of the hands of Parliament, and sentenced Suffolk to banishment for five years. But on the way to the Continent Suffolk's ship was boarded in the Channel and he was murdered at sea.

8. The Rebellion of Jack Cade (1450).—England was now seething with discontent. The peace party represented by Suffolk had been unable either to carry on war with honour or to obtain reasonable terms; but in spite of the condemnation of Suffolk they remained in power. In Whitsun week the Commons of Kent rose under Jack Cade, who issued a proclamation stating his intention of removing the evil counsellors of the king, whom he accused of treacherously betraying English interests in France, and of general misgovernment. The rebels marched on London, but Henry, with 20,000 men, advanced to Blackheath, and Cade retreated. Unfortunately a detachment of royal troops was defeated at Sevenoaks, and mutiny broke out in the ranks of the army. Henry fled to Kenilworth, while Cade entered London and plundered the citizens. The Londoners, who had sympathised hitherto with the rebels, now turned against them, and Cade was defeated in a fight on London Bridge. The rebels agreed to disperse on receiving a pardon, but Cade was killed in Kent, and the Government, recovering from its panic, inflicted severe punishment on the disaffected districts.

9. The Intervention of Richard, Duke of York (1450-1453).—Cade had insisted that he was carrying out the wishes of Richard, Duke of York, to whom he falsely declared himself to be related, and it is clear that in the popular mind the Duke of York was regarded as the only possible saviour of the country from the evils brought upon it by Suffolk and Somerset. York's period of command in Normandy, though not brilliantly successful, was in marked contrast to the abject failures of Somerset. In 1450 York returned from Ireland to lead the opposition against Somerset, who was high in the favour of Henry and Margaret. A violent struggle took place in Parliament, the Commons being on the side of York, while Somerset had the support of the Court. In 1451 the Commons demanded the banishment of Somerset and several of his adherents, and Henry made some concessions. But York's position as heir-presumptive to the throne made him unwilling to push matters to an extreme, and Somerset was not removed from Court. Fresh disasters in France, however, hurried on the crisis. Guienne was still in English hands, but after the conquest of Normandy Charles VII. concentrated his efforts in order to drive out the English. The surrender of Bordeaux was followed by that of Bayonne, and ultimately of all the English towns in the south. This disgrace, which the Government had done nothing to avert, roused York to action. In 1452 he advanced on London with a large force, but was prevailed on to break up his army on the understanding that Somerset should be arrested. The understanding was not carried out, and Somerset seized the opportunity to regain popularity by sending an army under the veteran Talbot, Earl of Shrewsbury, to recover Gascony. There seemed some prospect of success, for the Gascons were already discontented with French rule, and preferred the connection with England, so valuable on account of their wine trade. Talbot landed at Medoc, Bordeaux opened its gates, and other successes followed. In 1453 Charles VII. therefore took the field in person, and Castillon was besieged. Talbot hastened to the rescue, but was defeated and killed. Bordeaux and the other

towns surrendered, and the English possession of Gascony, which had lasted for 300 years, came to an end. Of all the conquests of Edward III. and Henry V. only Calais remained as the fruit of the "Hundred Years' War."

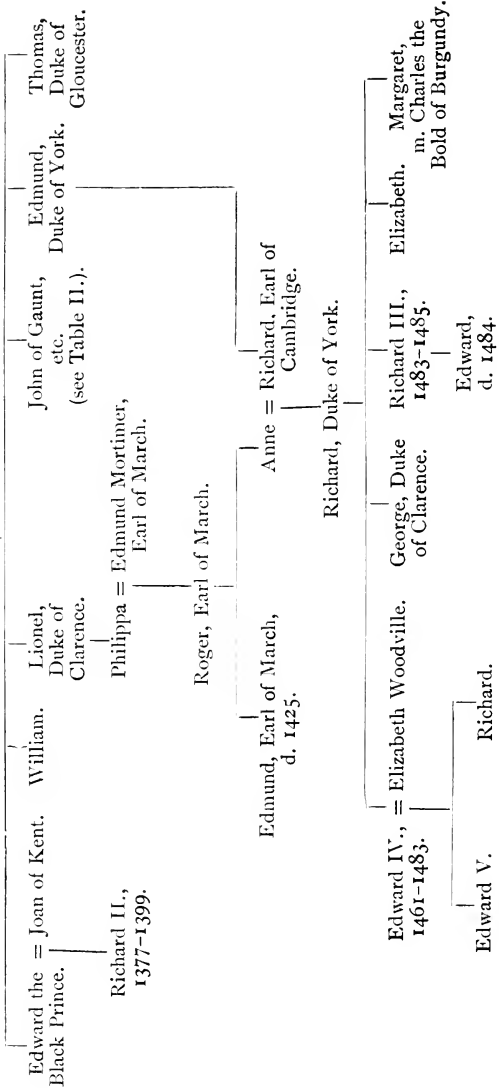
CHIEF EVENTS.

	A. D.
The Relief of Orleans	1429.
Capture of Jeanne d'Arc	1430.
End of the Burgundian Alliance	1435.
Death of Bedford	1435.
Henry marries Margaret of Anjou	1445.
Death of Gloucester	1447.
Loss of French possessions	1453.

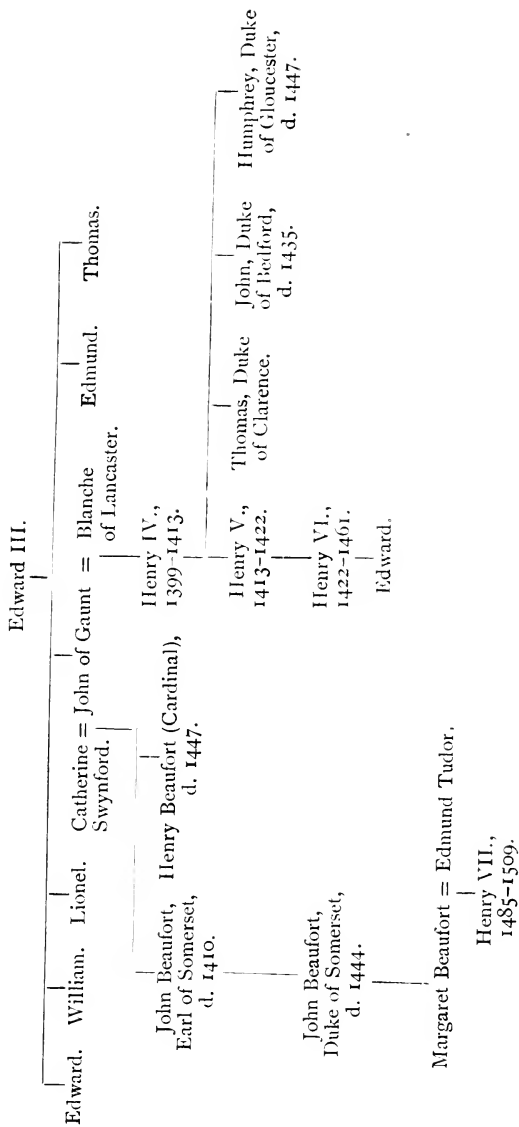
YORK AND LANCASTER.

I.—YORK.

Edward III.,
1327-1377



II.—LANCASTER.



CHAPTER XXI.

HENRY VI. (1422-1461).

(2) THE WARS OF THE ROSES (1454-1461).

1. The Protectorate of Richard of York.—Shortly after the defeat of Castillon, Henry became insane, and while he was in this condition, his son Edward was born. Hitherto York, as heir of the Mortimers, could count on ultimately succeeding to the throne ; but the birth of a son to Henry made York's peaceful accession impossible, and forced him to raise the question whether the House of Lancaster was legally entitled to the throne. He thus passed from being the expectant heir to being the active rival of Henry and his little son. This attitude was not at once adopted openly, but Margaret realised the danger, and bent all her energies to defend the rights of her husband and infant child.

As soon as the king's state became known the question of the regency increased the rivalry between Margaret and York. The House of Lords decided in favour of the duke, who was made Protector. Somerset had already been sent to prison, and York, relieved of his enemy's presence, could direct all his attention to the government of the country. He promptly interfered in the north of England to stop the private war, which was going on between the Percies and Nevilles, and if Henry's illness had continued, a strong Government might have been formed. By the close of 1454, however, Henry suddenly recovered, and early in the following year Somerset was released, and the ministers appointed by the Protector were dismissed. York refused to submit tamely to the restoration of Somerset's

influence, and backed by the Nevilles, Richard, Earl of Salisbury, and his son Richard, Earl of Warwick, advanced on London. Henry and Somerset set out from London to meet him, and the two armies came into collision with one another at St. Albans, where the first battle of the Civil War was fought. Somerset was killed, and Henry was captured. The excitement of the struggle brought on a second attack of Henry's infirmity, and York, who still claimed to be the loyal subject of Henry, was again made Protector. In 1456 Henry again recovered, and dismissed York from office.

2. The Renewal of the Struggle (1459-1461).—For two years Henry strove hard to maintain the peace, but the rivalry of the Lancastrians and Yorkists had irretrievably weakened his government, and the country was a prey to disorder. In 1458 a solemn reconciliation took place at St. Paul's Cathedral, at which Margaret and York, and the other leaders of both sides, vowed friendship. But the truce was a hollow one, and peace was only maintained for a year. Both the Nevilles were bitterly opposed to Margaret, and York was now openly aiming at the Crown. In the autumn of 1459 the Earl of Salisbury collected an army and defeated Lord Audley at Blore Heath in Staffordshire. The final break between Lancastrians and Yorkists had now occurred, and civil war flamed up in all directions. While the Duke of York gathered his forces, Henry for once acted with surprising vigour. He marched on Ludlow, where York, Salisbury, and Warwick were stationed, and by promising a pardon to those who submitted, won over a number of Yorkists. The rest were seized with a panic and fled. York took refuge in Ireland, while Salisbury and Warwick retired to Calais. Parliament was summoned, and the Yorkists were attainted of treason.

In 1460 Salisbury and Warwick landed in England, accompanied by York's son Edward, Earl of March, and were warmly welcomed by the Londoners. Henry was defeated at Northampton, and for the second time fell into the hands of his enemies. A new Parliament reversed the attainders against



the Yorkists, and York came over from Ireland and formally claimed the throne. After much delay it was agreed that the Yorkist claim was irrefutable; but a compromise was arranged by which Henry was to hold the Crown for life, and recognise York as heir. Margaret had no intention of seeing her son's rights set aside. Since the defeat at Northampton she had taken refuge in the north of England, where the Earls of Northumberland and Westmoreland, together with other nobles, rallied round her. Leaving Warwick with the king in London, York marched into Yorkshire, where he encountered the Lancastrian lords at Wakefield. His army was outnumbered, and he died fighting at the head of his troops. After the battle of Northampton a number of the leading Lancastrians had been killed, and the victorious side now exacted their revenge. York's second son, Edmund, Earl of Rutland, a youth of seventeen, was brutally killed, and Salisbury, who was captured after the battle, was beheaded.

The march of events was now swift and decisive. The victory of Wakefield had been won on December 30, 1460, but Margaret's absence in Scotland prevented an immediate move on London. Edward, Earl of March, had been sent by his father to the Welsh borders, where Jasper Tudor, Earl of Pembroke, the half-brother of Henry VI., was raising forces. On February 2, Edward inflicted a severe defeat on the Lancastrians at Mortimer's Cross, near Wigmore. Pembroke fled to Wales; but his father, Owen Tudor, who had married Catherine, the widow of Henry V., was captured and beheaded. Shortly after the defeat, Margaret began her march on the capital. She was at the head of a motley collection of fighting men, with recruits from Wales and Scotland. Hitherto the civil war had not been attended by serious evils inflicted on the non-combatant population. It had been more or less a faction fight, in which the country at large was not implicated. But unluckily for her cause, Margaret allowed her rough troopers to pillage and destroy as they marched south, and her vindictiveness turned the strongest elements in the nation

against her. At St. Albans she met Warwick, who had brought Henry with him, together with such of the Yorkist forces as could be hastily mustered. On February 17, Warwick was routed, and Henry was restored to his wife and son. Warwick escaped with a remnant of his army. A prompt march on London would have had a decisive result, but Margaret dared not face the hostile citizens, and she therefore led her troops northward, plundering as they went. Meanwhile, Edward had formed a junction with Warwick in Oxfordshire, and the two entered London. Edward laid claim to the throne, and was acclaimed king by an informal gathering of his adherents.

CHIEF EVENTS.

	A.D.
York appointed Protector	1454.
First Battle of St. Albans	1455.
Battle of Blore Heath	1459.
Battle of Northampton	1460.
Battle of Wakefield	1460.
Battle of Mortimer's Cross.	1461.

CHAPTER XXII.

EDWARD IV. (1461-1483).

1. The Conquest of the North (1461).—Edward was proclaimed king on March 4, and ten days later set out on his journey north in pursuit of Henry and Margaret. His army was a large one, for Margaret's conduct had alienated the south, and Edward could count on the support of the commercial classes, whom the pillage and outrages of the northern army had profoundly alarmed. From the first Henry's wife had been regarded with suspicion; her marriage had been associated with the loss of Maine, and with the humiliation of England on the Continent; and since then her heroic defence of the rights of her husband and son had been marred in the eyes of Englishmen by her intrigues with the Scots, and by the misconduct of her followers. On March 29, a decisive battle was fought at Towton, in Yorkshire, and the Lancastrians, after fighting with fierce determination, suffered a disastrous defeat. Orders had been issued that no quarter should be given, and a contemporary statement estimates that 28,000 men were killed. Margaret, with her husband and son, fled to Scotland. After receiving the submission of York and the northern towns, Edward returned to London for his solemn coronation. Warwick and his brother, John Neville, Earl of Montagu, were left in command of the forces of the north. The king's brothers, George and Richard, were created Dukes of Clarence and Gloucester, and titles were showered upon the Yorkist leaders. Parliament declared the three Lancastrian kings, Henry IV., Henry V., and Henry VI., to have been "intruders," and

acknowledged that Edward possessed all the rights and prerogatives of Richard II. The revolution of 1399 was thus reversed ; but although the Lancastrian kings and their Parliaments were declared "pretensed," Acts were passed ratifying practically all transactions which had taken place during the Lancastrian period. Without this the rights of individuals and corporations might have been called in question, and the whole fabric of society would have been endangered. A bill of attainder was passed against Henry VI., Margaret, Prince Edward, and a number of Lancastrians. The Lancastrian estates were forfeited to the Crown.

In the north the indomitable Margaret still continued the struggle. By the surrender of Berwick she had purchased reinforcements from Scotland, and in 1462 she proceeded to France, where she obtained money and troops from Louis XI. on security of a mortgage on the town of Calais. She was, thus prepared to give up the remaining conquests of Edward III. Returning to Scotland, she invaded Northumberland with her foreign troops. Her expedition failed ; and she fled with her son to Flanders. The diplomacy of Edward IV. soon neutralised her efforts in France and Scotland. In 1463 Louis XI., under the influence of the Duke of Burgundy, signed a truce with Edward, and abandoned the Lancastrians. Edward also successfully negotiated a truce with Scotland. The Lancastrians now resolved on a final effort. In 1464 Henry VI. himself invaded Northumberland, but was defeated by Montagu at Hedgeley Moor, near Morpeth. Three weeks later Montagu defeated the Lancastrians near Hexham, and Henry fled to Lancashire. The pacification of the north rapidly followed.

2. The Rupture between Edward and the Nevilles (1464-1469).—Although Edward now seemed secure on the throne, his position depended on the loyalty of the Nevilles. Warwick, the "king-maker," was at the height of his power. He had rendered brilliant services to the Yorkist dynasty, and he was now the first subject in the kingdom. His brother, Montagu, was raised to the earldom of Northumberland, and another brother, George Neville, became Archbishop of York.

Further, since the victory of Towton, Edward had taken no part in stamping out the Lancastrian resistance, and had given himself up to the pleasures and dissipation in which his self-indulgent disposition found satisfaction. It was clear that the king would marry, and Warwick hoped to utilise this in order to procure important political connections abroad. He was anxious that Edward should purchase a firm peace with France by marrying Bona of Savoy, sister-in-law of Louis XI. Edward allowed Warwick to negotiate on the subject, and then deeply offended his chief supporter by announcing that he had been secretly married for some months to Elizabeth Woodville. The new queen was a daughter of Jacquetta of Luxemburg, widow of the Regent Bedford, by her second husband, Richard Woodville, Lord Rivers. Warwick, therefore, saw with dismay the accession of a queen, who politically was closely connected with the Lancastrians.

The capture of Henry VI. in 1465, and the removal of the king to the Tower, completed the series of successes gained by Edward, but the growing alienation of the Nevilles threatened to undermine his throne. To strengthen himself Edward promoted marriages between his wife's relations and the chief nobles. Edward's father-in-law, Lord Rivers, was made treasurer and constable. In opposition to Warwick's advocacy of a French alliance, Edward betrothed his sister Margaret to Charles, later called "the Bold," the heir of Philip of Burgundy. About the same time Warwick's brother, the Archbishop of York, was dismissed from the chancellorship. Warwick retaliated by proposing a marriage between his daughter Isabella and the king's brother, George, Duke of Clarence, the heir presumptive. This Edward interfered to prevent, and in 1468 announced his intention of prosecuting a war against France. Warwick's aims and interests had thus been thwarted in all directions, and a complete rupture was inevitable.

3. Warwick's Rebellion (1469-1470).—In 1469 a series of plots came to light, in most of which Warwick was probably implicated. Warwick himself had withdrawn to Calais, and

while there the marriage between Isabella Neville and Clarence was celebrated. Warwick and Clarence then issued a joint manifesto, declaring their intention of obtaining a redress of their grievances. Warwick also secretly promised to make Clarence king. A rising took place in Yorkshire under Sir William Conyers, who assumed the name of "Robin of Redesdale." Edward was unprepared for the danger, but marched northwards, while Lord Rivers and the Earl of Pembroke, after raising forces in the south and west, advanced towards Northampton. They were repulsed by the rebels, and driven back on Banbury. A second engagement followed at Edgecote, in Northamptonshire, in which the royal forces were defeated, and Pembroke was captured and executed. Edward himself fell into the hands of Archbishop Neville, while the insurgents put to death his father-in-law, Lord Rivers. Warwick had hurried to England, but as he was not strong enough to depose Edward, he permitted the king's release. The result of the struggle was therefore indecisive.

In 1470 disturbances broke out in Lincolnshire, with the connivance of Warwick and Clarence. Edward this time was not caught unprepared. He took the field in person, and crushed the rebellion near Stamford in the fight which, from the precipitate retreat of the rebels, was known as "Lose-coat Field." Warwick and Clarence found themselves without supporters and fled to France. Here, through the mediation of Louis XI., Warwick came to terms with his enemy Margaret. He agreed to restore Henry VI., and a marriage was arranged between his daughter Anne and the young Prince Edward. Louis furnished ships and men, and Warwick landed in the west of England. Meanwhile Edward had gone north, but finding himself too near the stronghold of the Nevilles, he fled to Holland. Warwick and Clarence took Henry from the Tower and proclaimed him king.

4. The Fall of Warwick (1471).—As was usual, Parliament helplessly ratified the results of the revolution, and passed bills of attainder against the Yorkists. Warwick and Clarence became joint rulers, but the Nevilles in reality

absorbed all power. Louis XI. kept Warwick to his bargain of hostility to Charles the Bold of Burgundy, and this forced the latter, who wished to keep free from English domestic struggles, to take sides with Edward IV. In March, 1471, Edward, who had obtained money and men from Charles, landed at Ravenspur, in Yorkshire, where Henry IV. had landed, and to win adherents he proclaimed that he only came to regain the duchy of York. To gain entrance into York he ordered his men to cheer for King Henry and Prince Edward. He then marched into the Midlands, and at the town of Warwick he reassumed the title of king. Outside Warwick he met his brother Clarence at the head of an army. Clarence had for some time chafed at the supremacy of the Nevilles, and the restoration of Henry had destroyed the prospect of succeeding to the throne, which Warwick had held out to him. He therefore deserted to Edward's side, and with him went a large number of adherents. Edward then advanced to London and relegated Henry to the Tower. Meanwhile Warwick had marched towards London as far as Barnet, and Edward, therefore, left the capital to meet him. After a desperate encounter Warwick and his brother Montagu were defeated and slain.

On the same day as the battle of Barnet, Margaret and Prince Edward landed at Weymouth, and once more rallied the Lancastrians to her standard. Edward, after some hesitation as to the line of march which Margaret would follow, started westwards, and after a long pursuit caught up the Lancastrians at Tewkesbury. The insurgents were worn out by long marches, and offered only a feeble resistance. Prince Edward was killed, and Margaret fell into the hands of her enemy. Edward returned in triumph to London, and the same night the unhappy Henry was put to death.

With Henry VI. and his son Edward ended the legitimate male line of John of Gaunt. On the line of descendants which sprang from the latter's union with Catherine Swynford the civil wars had told disastrously. Edmund Beaufort, grandson of John of Gaunt, the minister and general of Henry VI.,

had been killed at the first battle of St. Albans (1455), and of his three sons, Henry, Duke of Somerset, had been beheaded in 1464, John had been killed at Tewkesbury, and Edmund was beheaded after the battle. The line of Beaufort thus ended in Margaret, who had married Edmund Tudor, Earl of Richmond, and her son Henry, the future Henry VII., now a boy of twelve, was in exile at the Court of the Duke of Brittany. For the present, Edward IV. felt himself secure against any Lancastrian claims.

5. The War with France (1475).—Edward's restoration had been largely due to the timely help of Charles the Bold, and justly proud as he was of his military skill, he gladly undertook to prosecute the quarrel of Burgundy with Louis XI. Throughout his reign he had been nominally at war with Louis, although truces had staved off serious fighting, and now that he was free from domestic troubles, he sought an opportunity to punish Louis for helping Warwick and Margaret, in 1470, to dislodge him from the throne. Charles the Bold undertook to help Edward to recover the kingdom of France in return for territorial cessions in France, and a recognition of his independence of the French Crown. In 1475 Edward, with a large army splendidly equipped, landed at Calais, and, if Charles had been in a position to help the English, Louis XI. would have been in serious danger. But Charles was already entangled in an expedition in Germany, and Louis, who was the wiliest diplomatist in Europe, easily detached Edward from the Burgundian alliance by offering to negotiate. The two kings met on the bridge of Pecquigny on the Somme, near Amiens, and a treaty was agreed upon. By this a truce for seven years was arranged, and Louis agreed to pay to Edward 75,000 crowns down and a pension of 50,000 paid annually. Margaret of Anjou was ransomed and retired to France. The English army returned home without striking a blow.

6. The Fate of Clarence (1478).—In 1477 Charles the Bold succumbed to the enemies whom Louis raised up against him. His attack on the Duke of Lorraine led to his defeat at Nancy. This had an important influence on the fate of George

Duke of Clarence. He had recently lost his wife, Isabel Neville, and he now came forward as a candidate for the hand of Mary, the heiress of Charles the Bold. Edward, who apparently had never forgiven his brother for his treachery, opposed the match. Clarence had also a feud with his brother Richard on the subject of the latter's marriage to Anne Neville, the widow of Prince Edward of Lancaster, and the two brothers had quarrelled over the division of the Warwick estates. Clarence seems to have acted with much imprudence, and Edward had him arrested. He was accused in Parliament in 1478, and a bill of attainder was passed against him, which was followed by his execution.

7. Last Years of Edward IV.—For the rest of the reign the domestic history of the country was uneventful. In 1480 a quarrel between Edward and James III. of Scotland led to a Scottish raid into England. In 1482 Edward retaliated by sending an expedition under Richard of Gloucester to support the Duke of Albany, the brother of James III., as a claimant to the throne. Albany promised the cession of Berwick, and Gloucester successfully besieged and captured the town. James III. then came to terms with Edward. In 1482 Louis XI., who had promised that the dauphin should marry Edward's daughter Elizabeth, repudiated his word, and betrothed his son to Margaret, granddaughter of Charles the Bold. Edward died in April, 1483, before he had time to do more than threaten vengeance for the perfidy of Louis.

CHIEF EVENTS.

	A. D.
Battle of Towton	1461.
Battles of Hedgeley and Hexham	1464.
Rupture with Warwick	1469.
Restoration of Henry VI.	1470.
Battle of Barnet	1471.
Battle of Tewkesbury	1471.
Death of Henry VI.	1471.
Execution of Clarence	1478.

CHAPTER XXIII.

EDWARD V. (1483); RICHARD III. (1483-1485).

1. The Struggle for the Regency.—At the death of Edward IV. it seemed that, as far as the dynastic quarrel between the Houses of Lancaster and York was concerned, the victory lay wholly with the Yorkists. The claims of the legitimate line of John of Gaunt were inherited by the Kings of Castile and Portugal, the descendants of Catherine and Philippa, the daughters of John of Gaunt; while the Beauforts were represented by Margaret Beaufort and her son, Henry Tudor, Earl of Richmond. Danger from Lancastrian rivalry therefore seemed almost extinct, and things would have remained in this condition had it not been for the fatal rivalries within the House of York itself, culminating in a series of brutal crimes, which alienated the nation and opened the way for Henry Tudor.

The Court at the accession of Edward V., a boy of twelve, fell apart into two factions. On the one hand, the regency was claimed by the queen mother, Elizabeth Woodville, who was supported by her brother Anthony, Earl Rivers, and Sir Edward Woodville, and by her sons by her former marriage, Thomas Grey, Marquis of Dorset, and Lord Richard Grey. On the other hand, Edward IV. by his will had decided that his brother Richard, Duke of Gloucester, should be Protector. Gloucester had already proved himself a statesman of marked abilities, and the dark stories, which connected him with the murder, in cold blood, of Prince Edward, after the battle of Tewkesbury, and with the death of Henry VI., do not seem to have lessened his popularity. He was supported by Henry Stafford, Duke of Buckingham, and William, Lord Hastings. Edward V. was at Ludlow under the protection of his mother, and of Earl Rivers and Lord Richard Grey, and it was decided to bring him to London for his coronation. On the journey,

Rivers and Grey were met by Gloucester at Northampton, and were arrested and sent to Pontefract Castle. The queen mother, on hearing the news, took sanctuary at Westminster, with her second son Richard, Duke of York.

2. The Deposition of Edward V.—Shortly after reaching London the little king was conducted by Gloucester to the Tower, and to conceal his designs the duke fixed June 22 for the coronation of his nephew, and June 25 for the summons of Parliament. This gave him time to mature his plans, and to bring troops from the north. Finding that he could not count on the support of Hastings, he accused the latter at the council of conspiring with the Woodvilles. Hastings was immediately arrested, and executed the same day. Three days later Gloucester, through the intervention of Cardinal Bouchier, induced the queen mother to give up possession of Richard, Duke of York. This rendered him master of the situation, and on June 25 he threw off the mask. An irregular assembly of Lords and Commons met, and a document was laid before it insisting on the invalidity of the marriage of Edward IV. and Elizabeth Woodville. The rights of the Earl of Warwick, heir of Gloucester's elder brother Clarence, were declared barred by the attainder, and the Crown therefore devolved upon Gloucester. The assembly petitioned Gloucester to take the Crown, and after some show of reluctance the duke yielded to the wishes of the deputation which waited on him. On the following day he was publicly enthroned in Westminster Hall. About the same time Earl Rivers and Lord Richard Grey were executed at Pontefract, and the little king, with his brother, Richard of York, shortly after disappeared; the date and manner of their death are uncertain, but it would appear that they were murdered in the Tower in August, 1483.

3. Buckingham's Conspiracy.—Richard's coronation, which took place on July 6, was followed by a progress through the country, during which Richard sought by every means in his power to ingratiate himself with his subjects. But in spite of the fact that the king was received everywhere with professions of loyalty, the insecurity of his position was

rendered apparent by the defection of his chief supporter the Duke of Buckingham. The causes of Buckingham's revolt are not clear, but it is possible that he was both dissatisfied with the rewards which Richard had given to him, and was secretly horrified at the crimes into which he had been implicitly dragged. It is certain that his final break with the king coincided, roughly, in date with the murder of the little princes in the Tower. Buckingham was moreover of royal blood, for he could trace his descent from two sons of Edward III., John of Gaunt, and Thomas of Woodstock. His mind was worked upon by Morton, Bishop of Ely, who, after being imprisoned by Richard at the time of the execution of Hastings, had been committed to the care of Buckingham. Morton had been a Lancastrian, but had rallied to the Yorkists. He now saw an opportunity for a return to his earlier allegiance, and induced Buckingham to join in a conspiracy to place Henry of Richmond on the throne. The Yorkists were to be won over by a marriage between Henry and Elizabeth, eldest daughter of Edward IV. The news of the death of Edward V. and Richard of York caused great popular indignation, and Morton hoped to overthrow Richard by an insurrection in England, backed by an expedition from Brittany, led by Henry himself.

The conspiracy broke out in 1483, while Richard was in the midst of his progress through the north; but it failed through a combination of adverse circumstances. Richard had not yet alienated his subjects, and he had still powerful supporters. Buckingham, who had raised the standard of rebellion in Wales, failed to cross the Severn on account of the floods, and the junction with the rebels in South England was prevented. He was deserted by his followers, fled to Shropshire, and was betrayed to Richard. His execution followed immediately. The expedition of Henry of Richmond was frustrated by a storm which dispersed his fleet. Morton and several leaders of the conspiracy fled abroad.

4. The Parliament of 1484.—Richard seemed now at the height of his power, and early in 1484 Parliament confirmed his title as king, and recognised his son Edward as heir to the

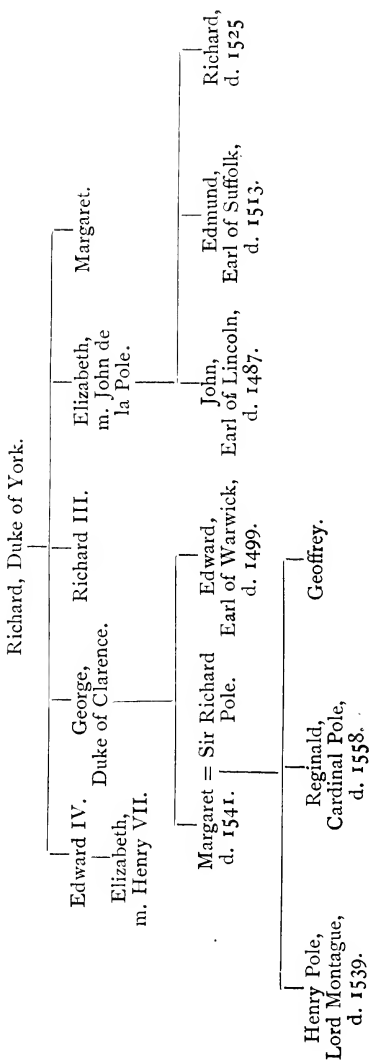
throne. Morton, Richmond, Dorset, and nearly a hundred others were declared attainted of treason. Some good laws were passed including an Act against Benevolences, an illegal tax invented by Edward IV. Richard's conduct showed that, in less tragic circumstances, he had the making of a constitutional king, and that he was prepared to make good the promises of reform with which he had begun his reign. But the death of his son Edward, so recently recognised by Parliament as his heir, was the first of a series of misfortunes which followed one another in rapid succession.

5. Henry Tudor's Invasion (1485).—After the failure of his expedition, Henry had again taken refuge in Brittany, where he was joined by Dorset, Morton, and other friends. It was decided to make a second attempt, and Henry, to strengthen his position by detaching those Yorkists whom the murder of Edward V. had alienated from Richard, solemnly bound himself by oath to marry Elizabeth, daughter of Edward IV. Shortly after, however, he was driven from Brittany by the intrigues of Richard, and took refuge with Charles VIII., King of France. With a body of French troops, lent to him by the French king, Henry and his friends set out from Harfleur, in August, and landed at Milford Haven. His Welsh compatriots rallied to his standard, and he led his army by way of Shrewsbury and Lichfield to Bosworth. Here he was met by Richard at the head of the royal forces, which outnumbered Henry's army by two to one. But Richard could not count on the loyalty of his followers, and at the outset of the battle Richard's fate was sealed by the defection of Lord Stanley, Henry's stepfather, and by the refusal of the Earl of Northumberland to render active assistance. Richard fell fighting, and the Crown, which had been beaten from his helmet during the struggle, was placed by Lord Stanley on the head of Henry.

CHIEF EVENTS.

	A. D.
Richard of Gloucester made Protector	1483.
Deposition of Edward V.	1483.
Execution of Buckingham	1483.
Battle of Bosworth	1485.

THE YORKIST RIVALS OF HENRY VII.



CHAPTER XXIV.

HENRY VII. (1485-1509).

1. Henry's Claim to the Throne.—Henry could claim connection with the English royal house in two ways. In the first place, his father, Edmund Tudor, was son of Catherine of France, by her union with Owen Tudor on the death of her former husband, Henry V. And in the second place, he inherited through his mother, Margaret Beaufort, the claims of the descendants of John of Gaunt by his mistress Catherine Swynford, claims which had been indirectly recognised by Parliament in 1397, when the Beauforts had been legitimated by statute. As the male line of the descendants of John of Gaunt by his first wife Blanche of Lancaster had ended with the death of Edward, son of Henry VI., at Tewkesbury, Henry Tudor inherited the Lancastrian claim. On the other hand, he had rivals who upheld the claims of the House of York, viz. (1) the three De la Poles, the sons of Elizabeth, sister of Edward IV. These were John, Earl of Lincoln, Edmund, Earl of Suffolk, and Richard; (2) Edward, Earl of Warwick, son of the Duke of Clarence, executed by Edward IV., and his sister Margaret; (3) Elizabeth, daughter of Edward IV. While the existence of these rivals made it impossible for Henry to put forward a strong hereditary claim, policy forbade him to base his rights on conquest. Henry's first Parliament therefore contented itself with the declaration that the inheritance of the Crown belonged to him. Both Houses joined in petitioning him to marry Elizabeth of York, and the marriage took place early in 1486. The king's title and marriage were confirmed at his request by Pope Innocent

VIII. The birth of a son, Arthur, to Henry and Elizabeth, seemed to offer a permanent settlement of troublesome dynastic questions. Meanwhile Henry carried out a policy of pacification, and the new reign began with a marked absence of the political executions, which had been the unhappy rule during the Wars of the Roses.

2. The Conspiracies of Lord Lovel and Lambert Simnel.—Before Henry had been six months on the throne, Lord Lovel, the favourite of Richard III., had joined in a conspiracy with the two Stafford brothers to waylay and capture him at York. This was frustrated, and Lovel, after hiding in Lancashire, fled to Margaret, sister of Edward IV., and widow of Charles the Bold, Duke of Burgundy. At her Court a plan was concocted by Lovel, and sanctioned by Lincoln, to set up a Yorkist pretender in Ireland, where the House of York had strong partisans. Early in 1487 Lambert Simnel, the son of an organ builder, appeared in Ireland, claiming to be the Earl of Warwick, who was at this time imprisoned in the Tower. He was at once recognised by the Anglo-Irish barons and was crowned at Dublin. With an army, partly composed of 2000 German mercenaries, brought to Ireland by the Earl of Lincoln and paid for by Margaret, Lambert Simnel landed in Lancashire, and marched to Newark. At Stoke the rebels encountered the royal forces and were defeated. Lincoln was killed, and Lovel disappeared after the battle. Simnel was captured by Henry, who contemptuously made him a scullion in the royal kitchen. The Irish insurgents were pardoned on making their submission.

3. The War in Brittany.—At the beginning of his reign Henry had striven to maintain the friendly relations with France, which the support given to him by Charles VIII. in 1485 had created. But the attempt of the French king to acquire Brittany, the ancient ally of England, endangered the peace. The French invaded Brittany in 1487, besieged Duke Francis in Nantes, and although a truce was negotiated through the mediation of Henry, the struggle was soon renewed, and the French inflicted a crushing defeat on the

Duke at St. Aubin. Duke Francis died shortly after, leaving his duchy to his daughter Anne, a child of twelve. Henry had endeavoured to keep out of the war, but he could not see Brittany, with its maritime resources, absorbed by France without some resistance on his part, and he therefore offered help to the Breton regency. A treaty was signed in 1489 by which Henry was to protect Brittany, and in return was to control the foreign policy of the duchy. Troops were sent over, and help was also expected from Maximilian, King of the Romans, and from Ferdinand of Aragon. Parliament voted Henry a large sum for the war. But the help from his foreign allies was not forthcoming, and as Henry shrank from an open rupture with France, the Duchess Anne submitted to the inevitable, and by her marriage with Charles VIII. brought her duchy to the inheritance of the French Crown (1491). English feeling, however, was now strongly roused, and in October, 1492, having obtained a further grant from Parliament, Henry himself laid siege to Boulogne. But the expedition was only a blind to conceal the defeat of his policy, and to enable him to retreat from a dangerous position. Negotiations with France were briskly kept going, and a fortnight after his arrival before Boulogne, peace was signed at Etaples. Mutual support was agreed on, and Charles promised Henry 745,000 crowns for his expenses in the Breton troubles.

4. Perkin Warbeck.—Henry's cautious attitude in dealing with France was largely due to the revival of the Yorkist danger in England. In 1491 a Flemish youth, Perkin Warbeck, the servant of a Breton merchant, had appeared in Ireland, and had been prevailed on by the Yorkist partisans to come forward as Richard, Duke of York, son of Edward IV., whose fate as yet had never been clearly known. From Ireland Perkin went to the Court of Charles VIII., and being dismissed by the French king, after the peace of Etaples, took refuge with Margaret of Burgundy, who received him as her nephew. Henry demanded that Perkin should be dismissed from Flanders, and when the Government of the young Archduke Philip declared that it could not interfere with the Court

of the Duchess Margaret, Henry broke off all commercial relations with the Flemings, thus inflicting on them a heavy blow through the stoppage of their import of wool from England (1493). At the same time he tracked down the conspirators at home, and by the execution of the chamberlain, Sir William Stanley, he checked the intrigues of the Yorkist at the English Court. About this time Perkin left Flanders with a small force, supplied by Margaret, and after a futile descent on the coast of Kent, proceeded first to Ireland and thence to Scotland. He was warmly received by the Scottish king, James IV., who gave him in marriage Lady Catherine Gordon, a lady of royal blood. An invasion of England was planned, Perkin agreeing to cede Berwick in return for Scottish help. The pretender accompanied the expedition, but as it only numbered 1400 men, and no Englishmen joined, the little force retreated across the border, after a campaign of only four days. As Perkin now found that his presence in Scotland was no longer welcome, he sailed with his wife to Ireland in 1497, and landed in Cork. News from England, however, soon drew him to make one more effort to win the English Crown.

Parliament in 1497 had granted a large subsidy to Henry for the defence of the northern counties against the Scottish raid, and heavy taxation had provoked much discontent in the south and west. The Cornishmen, led by Thomas Flammock, a lawyer, and Michael Joseph, a blacksmith, revolted and set out to march on London. At Taunton they forced Lord Audley to join them, and under his guidance they pushed eastward by Salisbury and Winchester into Kent. At Blackheath the rebels were completely routed by the royal forces. Over 2000 were slain in battle; those who submitted were treated with leniency by the king, and only the leaders, Audley, Flammock, and Michael Joseph were executed. Three months later Perkin landed in Cornwall, and being joined by 3000 followers, laid siege to Exeter. Finding, however, that he had no hope of success, Perkin took sanctuary at Beaulieu in the New Forest, and surrendered to Henry on receiving a promise

that his life would be spared. He made a full confession of the imposture he had practised for so long, and was only imprisoned in the Tower after he had made attempts to escape. In prison he communicated with the captive Earl of Warwick, and the two formed a plan for flight. But the plot was discovered, and both Warwick and Warbeck were executed (1499). The charge against Warwick, who had been imprisoned by Henry for fourteen years, was the preposterous accusation of treason; but the real reason for his death was that with him the male line of the House of York ended.

5. Henry's Foreign Policy.—The three great kingdoms of the west, England, France, and Spain, had emerged from the Middle Ages consolidated at the expense of feudal anarchy, and ruled by sovereigns of absolutist tendencies. The marriage of Ferdinand of Aragon to Isabella of Castile had built up a strong monarchy in Spain, and had been followed by the expulsion of the Moors by the conquest of Granada, their last stronghold. At the same time, the discovery of the new world by Columbus, in 1492, opened to Spain a vast prospect of power and wealth. The French Crown, meanwhile, had been strengthened by the annexation of Brittany, and by the definite cessation of the struggle with England, which had threatened her prosperity throughout the fifteenth century; and her king, Charles VIII., was determined to take advantage of his position to revive the claims of his house to the kingdom of Naples. His famous invasion of Italy, in 1494, profoundly disturbed European politics, and reacted on Henry's international position, by making his alliance a most important political factor. The schemes of Charles VIII. caused the formation of a league against France between the Emperor Maximilian and the Spanish sovereigns, and Henry was invited to join. Henry had been bitterly offended by Maximilian's patronage of Warbeck, and the refusal of Maximilian, on behalf of his son, Duke Philip, to put pressure on Margaret of Burgundy had caused, as we saw above, the rupture of all commercial relations with the Netherlands. Since then, however, Warbeck had withdrawn, and commercial peace had

been restored by the Intercursus Magnus of 1496, guaranteeing freedom of trade between the two countries. Hence the trading interests of England naturally drew Henry to the anti-French side, in spite of the troublesome policy of Maximilian, who continued to count on the ultimate success of Warbeck. A marriage was projected between Prince Arthur of England, Henry's eldest son, and Catherine, the daughter of Ferdinand and Isabella, and, in return for the alliance, Henry joined the league in 1496. No hostilities, however, followed between England and France, for Henry was determined to get every advantage from his position without incurring the risks and expense of fighting. On the death of Charles VIII., in 1498, Henry therefore renewed the Treaty of Etaples with the new king, Louis XII., and shortly after Spain and Philip of Flanders came to terms with France.

The marriage between Prince Arthur and Catherine was solemnised in 1501, but the young prince died a few months later, and Henry, to avoid the restitution of Catherine's dowry, agreed that she should marry his second son, Henry. For this a dispensation was obtained from Pope Julius II. The friendship of Spain was thus secured for a time, and in 1502 Ferdinand assisted in the restoration of friendly relations with Scotland, by promoting a marriage between James IV. and Henry's eldest daughter Margaret. In the following year Henry's queen died, and the king at once set on foot various marriage schemes on his own behalf; but nothing had been arranged when Henry himself died in 1509.

6. Henry's Home Policy.—The government of Henry VII. was not in the modern sense a constitutional one. Parliament retained in theory its ancient powers, but it was seldom summoned after Henry had firmly established himself on the throne. During the last thirteen years of the reign there were no regular Parliamentary grants. Money was raised instead by discreditable means. Payments were exacted from officers in Church and State, and the machinery of justice was perverted to suit those who were wealthy enough to pay. Henry's chief agents were Empson and Dudley, who were

detested for their unscrupulous manipulation of the royal rights. By extortions of various kinds they enabled Henry to amass a treasure of £1,800,000.

It was inevitable that the movement from mediæval constitutional government towards absolutism, which had begun under the Yorkists, should be carried further under Henry VII. After years of anarchy and confusion under Henry VI., the nation required above all things a strong Government. The rising middle classes, absorbed in trading pursuits, looked with approval on the extinction of dynastic rivalries, and were prepared to sacrifice much of the substance of liberty in return for a guarantee of national peace. Henry VII., backed by Morton, at one time Bishop of Ely, and later on Archbishop of Canterbury, persistently aimed at the repression of feudal disorder. In 1487 a statute was passed which created a special court, consisting of the chancellor, treasurer, and five others, empowered to put down livery and maintenance, riots and unlawful assemblies. A spurious feudalism had arisen through the practice, by which a great lord kept a large body of retainers, who wore his badge or "livery" while he "maintained" their quarrels in the law courts by overawing the royal judges. Henry showed that he would not tolerate this practice, even in the case of his chief supporters, and his trusted friend, the Earl of Oxford, was fined £15,000 for receiving the king at Hedingham Castle at the head of a body of retainers wearing the De Vere livery.

Apart from measures aimed at strengthening the administration, Henry's reign is not remarkable for its legislation. Henry, in fact, realised that the country wanted strong government and not legislative changes. Parliament had failed completely during the Civil Wars to effect any permanent settlement, and the Crown had of necessity become the only safeguard against disorder. Hence the Tudor despotism was on the whole a popular one, resting not on a standing army or the unlimited right of taxation, but on the widespread belief that national security from external and internal dangers required a despotic ruler. Cold, cautious, and unlovable as he

was, Henry responded to the wants of the nation, and gave to England peace at home, while he forced the great monarchies of France and Spain to recognise that England could throw the weight of her influence with considerable effect into the scales of European politics.

CHIEF EVENTS.

	A. D.
Battle of Stoke	1487.
Invasion of Brittany	1489.
Treaty of Etaples	1492.
Cornish rebels defeated at Blackheath	1497.
Warbeck captured	1497.

CHAPTER XXV.

HENRY VIII. (1509-1547).

1. Character of Henry VIII.—The successor to the crafty Henry VII. was a splendid youth of eighteen, endowed with great qualities, both of mind and body, of untiring activity, skilled in all the pastimes of chivalry, and at the same time a scholar and a musician. The young king seemed indeed to represent in his person both the glories and the evils of the Renaissance, the splendour of its achievement in the development of men's intellectual and artistic powers, together with the heartless gratification of the basest passions. The ideals of Middle Ages were fast perishing before a growing luxury and self-indulgence, and it was inevitable that a prince, who impersonated his age as Henry VIII. did, should come into collision with the system which, with whatever failures, had upheld the virtues of purity and self-restraint, and of duties between man and man more imperative than the claims of self-interest. Ambassadors at the English Court, such as the Venetian Giustiani, delighted to dwell in their reports on the young Henry's accomplishments and personal attractions, his handsome form and dazzling attire, and his knowledge of Latin and other languages. But beneath this brave outward show lay a temper, swayed at times by passions, but unswervingly self-centred and self-contained. As the trappings of youth dropped away, and the restraints of morality and religion were laid aside, Henry's true character—brutal, imperious, sensual—stood revealed, and the reign, which had opened so joyously, closed on a scene of religious and social discontent.

2. Foreign Affairs.—The young king from the first was



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bent on a strong policy at home and abroad. He signalled his accession by the arrest of his father's unpopular ministers, Empson and Dudley, and after an imprisonment in the Tower, they were executed on the trumped-up charge of having conspired to seize and murder Henry on the death of his father. In other respects Henry made few changes in the ministry, and continued to rely on Henry VII.'s trusted servants, Archbishop Warham, Thomas Howard, Earl of Surrey, and Fox, Bishop of Winchester. Thomas Wolsey, who had been introduced to political life by Fox, was as yet only almoner to the king, but was already known for his skill in diplomacy, and Henry's intervention in foreign politics gave Wolsey the opportunity for making himself indispensable to the king.

In 1511 Henry joined the Holy League, which had been formed by Pope Julius II., with the support of the Emperor Maximilian, Ferdinand of Spain, and the Venetian Republic, in order to expel the French from Italy. A separate treaty was signed between Henry and Ferdinand by which a joint attack on the south of France was planned. In 1512 a force was sent under the Marquis of Dorset to Spain, but after three months of waiting for the help which Ferdinand had promised, it was decided, without order from home, to return to England. Henry was much disappointed by the failure of an expedition which had been carefully planned, and decided in 1513 to take the field in person. Advancing from Calais, he joined his army which was besieging Terouenne. A French force which came to relieve the town was defeated, and the engagement, on account of the precipitate flight of the enemy, was named "the Battle of the Spurs." Shortly after Terouenne surrendered, and a week later Tournay opened its gates. Neither of the towns was of real importance to Henry, whose proper line of attack was to march on Paris, and their capture only played into the hands of Maximilian, who, as ruler of Artois, was glad to see the French position weakened.

In England events of greater importance were in progress. In spite of the fact that he had married Henry's sister, James IV. of Scotland took advantage of Henry's absence to invade

England. The defence was organised by Queen Catherine, and the chief command was given to the Earl of Surrey, who advanced with 30,000 men to attack the Scots. He found them strongly posted on Flodden Edge, an offshoot of the Cheviots. As the Scots could not be attacked, Surrey drew them from their position by cutting off their retreat to the north, and in the battle which followed they were crushingly defeated. The greater part of the Scottish nobility fell on the field, and James himself was amongst the slain. James IV. was succeeded by his infant son, James V., and Margaret, Henry's sister, became regent. This, together with the fact that Henry had realised that in attacking France he was only securing the interests of Maximilian and Ferdinand, made peace advisable. Wolsey secretly negotiated a treaty with France, and it was arranged that Henry's younger sister Mary should marry Louis XII. Wolsey was rewarded for his services with the Bishoprics of Tournay and Lincoln, and in 1514 he became Archbishop of York. In 1515 Leo X. raised Wolsey, at Henry's request, to the dignity of cardinal, and in 1517 made him papal legate in England.

3. Wolsey and the Balance of Power.—The death of Louis XII. in 1515, and of Ferdinand of Aragon in 1516, brought about the accession of two sovereigns—Francis I. of France, and of Charles I. of Spain, who in 1519 became Emperor as Charles V. The rivalry of these monarchs kept Europe in a turmoil for thirty years. Out of this rivalry the idea of the balance of power emerged, and English statesmen, of whom Wolsey was the first, grasped the fact that England no longer had a hereditary enemy in France and a hereditary friend in Spain, and that her true policy was to take advantage of her position as the “tongue of the balance” to play off France against Spain. Matters were, however, complicated by the personal ambitions of Henry and Wolsey, for the former on the death of Maximilian in 1519 came forward as a candidate for the Empire, and his successful rival, Charles V., held out to Wolsey on two occasions, when the Papal See was vacant, hopes of becoming Pope.

In 1520 war was impending between the young Emperor Charles and Francis, who had also put in a claim to be elected emperor. Both competed for the support of England, and Wolsey advised Henry to maintain a balancing policy. He therefore arranged the famous meeting, known from its splendour as the Field of the Cloth of Gold, at which Henry and Francis met with unbounded cordiality. This was followed a month later by a meeting at Gravelines between the emperor and Henry. Wolsey, however, found it impossible to maintain the position of mediator, and Henry returned to the traditional pro-Spanish policy, and in 1522 declared war against France.

Henry's part in the struggle between Charles V. and Francis was inglorious in the field, and was accompanied by perfidious diplomatic measures. He had, in fact, no desire to see the success of either of the rival princes. In 1522 the Earl of Surrey was sent with an expedition to ravage Picardy, but beyond this nothing was effected. The war, on the other hand, necessitated heavy taxation, and Henry, who since 1515 had ruled without summoning Parliament, was forced to assemble it in 1523. Wolsey as chancellor asked for £800,000, and as the Commons showed signs of resistance, he appeared in person in the House, and insisted on compliance. The Speaker, Sir Thomas More, declared that the Commons would only debate the matter amongst themselves, and in the end Wolsey had to be contented with half the amount. His attempt to supplement this in 1525 by a forced loan, the "Amicable Loan," provoked such resistance that the demand was dropped. Meanwhile the war had gone on in France. In 1523 an English force under the Duke of Suffolk advanced to within a few miles of Paris, but was driven to retreat on account of the cold, and for the second time in the reign an English army returned home without orders. With the capture of Francis by the Spaniards at the battle of Pavia (1525), Henry's policy underwent a change, for he saw that the emperor had no intention of supporting the English demand for French territory. In 1525 a treaty of alliance with France was signed, and as soon as Francis was released

from captivity, Wolsey, in 1527, went over to negotiate a marriage alliance between Henry's daughter, Mary, and the second son of the French king.

4. Henry's Divorce and the Fall of Wolsey.—It was at this period that the policy of England began to be definitely affected by the question of Henry's relations with his wife Catherine. From the first Henry had not been a faithful husband, and now that the queen had grown prematurely old, and, with the exception of one daughter, Mary, all the children of the marriage were dead, the future of the Tudor dynasty seemed precarious. Henry at first did not disclose to Wolsey all his designs, for the latter could not suspect that Henry would stoop to a marriage with such a person as the beautiful but notorious Anne Boleyn. Wolsey therefore was only informed of the project for a divorce, and was instructed to communicate with Francis I. on the subject, for Henry was anxious to win the support of the French king, because he saw that the emperor would never sanction a step which would degrade his aunt, Catherine, in the eyes of all Europe. Moreover, at this time the Pope, Clement VII., was completely in the power of Charles V., whose troops in 1527 had attacked and pillaged Rome, and kept the Pope practically a prisoner.

England up to the time of Wyclif had been free from heresy, and, as we have seen, the Lollard movement had practically died out by the middle of the fifteenth century. The number of prosecutions for heresy at the beginning of the sixteenth century was small, and as a rule the heretics were lightly punished if they acknowledged their errors. Nor was England much affected at first by the religious revolt in Germany, which began with Luther's denunciation of Indulgences in 1517, and ended with his repudiation of the chief doctrines and practices of the Catholic Church. Summoned before the Diet of Worms in 1521, Luther had refused to retract, and shortly after had been carried off to a place of security by his sovereign the Elector of Saxony. In answer to Luther's book, the "Babylonish Captivity," Henry in 1521 dedicated to Leo. X. a defence of Catholic doctrine under the

title "Assertio Septem Sacramentorum," in which he strenuously upheld the authority of the Papacy. The royal controversialist was rewarded by the Pope with the title "Defender of the Faith." Neither Pope nor king could have foreseen that a few years later the champion of the Holy See would become its bitterest opponent.

From the outset of the divorce suit Henry did not give Wolsey his entire confidence, and although the cardinal stooped to the lowest expedients to convince the king and Anne that he was loyal to their wishes, his influence over Henry was shaken as it became clear that the Pope could not yield to the outrageous demands put forward by the English agents. The position taken up by Catherine and maintained with touching dignity to the last was unassailable. The most that Clement VII. would concede was that a special Legate Campeggio should be sent to England to act with Wolsey in the trial of the case. But a delay of seven months followed the arrival of Campeggio in 1528, during which Catherine's enemies in vain tried, by isolating her from all her friends, to coerce her into acquiescence. At length, in May, 1529, the legatine court was opened and the king and queen were cited to appear before it. Catherine, after a touching prayer to Henry, before whom she knelt to plead for the rights of herself and her daughter, appealed directly to the Pope. Her cause was also warmly upheld by Fisher, Bishop of Rochester, in a speech before the legates, which provoked an angry reply from the king. The trial dragged on into July, when Campeggio adjourned it, and on all sides it was understood that the proceedings had failed.

The failure sounded the knell of Wolsey's fortunes. Anne Boleyn insisted that he should be disgraced, and Henry yielded. Wolsey was indicted on the charge of having incurred the penalties of *præmunire* by exercising legatine jurisdiction, although, of course, his acceptance of the legateship had been sanctioned by the king. He pleaded guilty, and surrendered all his property to Henry. Sir Thomas More became chancellor, after warning the king not to expect

support from him in the divorce question. Wolsey retired to his archbishopric, but before he reached York the Boleyn party at Court, feeling unsafe while he lived, procured an order for his arrest on a charge of treason (November, 1530). Wolsey turned south, but on reaching Leicester Abbey, was too ill to go further. Just before his end he summed up the lesson of his own life in the famous saying, "If I had served God as diligently as I have done the king, He would not have given me over in my grey hairs."

5. The Beginning of the Schism.—A week after the fall of Wolsey, Parliament was summoned, and, contrary to custom, this Parliament continued through seven sessions, and did not cease till the severance from Rome had been completed. During the seven years of its existence (1529–1536) it was the tool used by Henry to carry out the divorce, to coerce the clergy into surrendering the legislative rights of their order, and to establish the royal in the place of the papal supremacy. The king's chief agents throughout were Thomas Cromwell, a low-born adventurer, who had passed from Wolsey's service to that of the king, and Thomas Cranmer, who had recommended himself to the royal favour by suggesting that the king should take the opinions of the Universities of Europe as to the validity of his marriage.

During the session of 1529 Acts were passed dealing with pluralities and clerical fees, but the two Convocations were the chief centres of interest. The great body of the clergy had steadily upheld Catherine's cause, and Henry therefore determined to coerce them into obedience. On the ground that they were involved in the penalties of *præmunire* by acknowledging Wolsey's legatine authority, he wrung from the Convocations of Canterbury and York a fine of £118,800, and the incidental recognition of himself as "Protector, single and supreme lord, and, as far as the law of Christ allows, even supreme head" of the Church of England (1531). This arrangement was sanctioned by Parliament, and as the laity had also incurred the penalties of *præmunire*, the king, on the petition of the Commons, granted to his lay subjects a free pardon.

In 1532 the policy of terrorising the clergy and thus indirectly putting pressure on the Pope, was carried a step further. A petition, drawn up by Thomas Cromwell, was placed in the hands of the Commons to be presented by them to the king. It contained an attack on the canons passed by the clergy in Convocation, and on the administration of canon law in the ecclesiastical courts. Convocation, which at the time was engaged in discussing reforms, was required by Henry to answer these supposed complaints of the Commons, and the result was the "Answer of the Ordinaries," in which Convocation stated the clerical view of the grievances alleged against the Church. Henry insisted that the answer was "very slender," and in the end, taking the matter openly into his own hand, he compelled the clergy to accept three articles, generally known as the "Submission of the Clergy." In future, no new canon was to be put forward in Convocation without the king's license; a committee of thirty-two was to revise the existing canons and abrogate those contrary to the royal prerogative; and lastly, only those canons which were ratified by the king should stand good. The legislative powers of the Church were thus placed under the control of the State.

In this same year the first Annates Act was passed, abolishing the payment of Firstfruits to the Pope, but ordering that this was not to come into force for a year. The Act was opposed in Parliament, and was forced through the Commons by the personal intervention of the king. The Submission of the Clergy and the Annates Act showed unmistakably the trend of the royal policy, and Sir Thomas More, who from the first had avoided all approval of the divorce, now resigned the chancellorship.

6. The Rupture with Rome (1534).—The policy of Henry from the beginning of the divorce trouble is difficult to follow, on account of its dishonest and tortuous character. Thus he posed as the protector of the English Church, while he secretly encouraged the attacks of heretics. He pretended that his action against the Pope was the result of pressure from Parliament, whereas it was only through his insistence that

the Acts against the Church were forced through Parliament. He insisted that his treatment of Catherine was due to conscientious scruples, and yet he allowed Anne Boleyn to be treated with almost royal honours at Court. He had himself invoked the jurisdiction of the Pope to settle the validity of his marriage, but his agents at Rome were now using every means in their power to prevent Clement VII. delivering the judgment, which it was foreseen must be unfavourable to the king. His scandalous treatment of Catherine caused indignation throughout the country, and forced the Pope to write a letter of grave remonstrance, ordering Henry to take back his lawful wife, pending the decision of the case, and threatening him with excommunication in case of non-compliance.

Henry had no intention of yielding to the wishes of either the Pope or his subjects, and the death of Archbishop Warham enabled him to strengthen his position by raising his compliant agent, Cranmer, to the primacy. In spite of the tension between the king and Pope, the Bulls of confirmation were issued, and early in 1533 Cranmer was consecrated. He took the customary oath of obedience to the Holy See, but privately made a protest, reserving to himself freedom of action. Meanwhile, probably in January, 1533, Henry had secretly married Anne, and it was necessary to bring the divorce proceedings to a summary close. Under royal pressure Convocation declared against the dispensing power of the Pope, and Parliament was induced to pass the "Statute for the Restraint of Appeals." This ordered that all cases, matrimonial, testamentary, etc., whether relating to the king or his subjects, should be decided by the English ecclesiastical courts in spite of any prohibition from the Pope. Under this Act, Cranmer, in May, 1533, set up his court at Dunstable, and cited Catherine to appear. The queen, as Cranmer hoped, refused to recognise his jurisdiction, and the archbishop then pronounced her marriage with Henry to be invalid. This was followed by the coronation of Anne amid signs of popular disapproval. Catherine was by proclamation deprived of the title of queen,

and at the same time she was forbidden to communicate with her daughter Mary.

The news of Cranmer's judgment forced Clement VII. to take decisive action in order to vindicate public morality and the authority of the Holy See. In July, 1533, the Pope issued a Brief, nullifying the proceedings at Dunstable, and declaring that Henry had incurred excommunication. This would come into force unless the king submitted before the end of three months. Henry, however, had now gone too far to draw back, and the birth of a daughter, Elizabeth, in September, 1533, was followed by a series of acts completing the Schism. In 1534, Parliament made the prohibition of Annates absolute, and provision was made for the appointment of bishops by *congé d'élire*. In future, when a vacancy occurred, the cathedral chapter was to receive a "license to elect" the person named in the accompanying royal letter, and if the chapter failed to do so, its members incurred the penalties of *præmunire*. Peter's Pence and papal dispensations were abolished, and the right of holding visitations of monasteries was given to the Crown. The "Submission of the Clergy" of 1532 was formally ratified by Parliament, and the ratifying statute ordered that the Crown should be in all cases the ultimate judge of appeals. By the Succession Act, the marriage with Catherine was declared invalid, and the Crown was settled on Henry's children by Anne Boleyn. The Convocations of Canterbury and York expressly repudiated the Pope's authority, and the edifice of the royal despotism in religious matters was completed by the Act of Supremacy, which affirmed that the king should be accepted as "the only supreme head in earth of the Church of England."

7. The Martyrdoms.—Although Parliament and Convocation had yielded, there were individuals too noble to acquiesce in such cowardly subservience to the king's will. The Act of Succession had ordered an oath to be taken to the Succession by all persons of legal age, and this was now used as an instrument to enforce compliance with the new order of things. The monks of the London Charterhouse

had been allowed, on account of their protests, to take the oath "as far as was lawful"; but Cromwell, who had been made the royal vicar-general, now summoned the prior Houghton and two other priors of the Order to acknowledge the royal supremacy. They refused, and, on being condemned as traitors, the sentence was carried out with unexampled brutality. This was followed by proceedings against Fisher and More, both of whom had incurred the king's resentment for refusing to condone his immoral conduct. Although they were willing to acknowledge Elizabeth as heir to the throne, they could not be induced to accept the royal supremacy, or to deny the validity of Henry's marriage with Catherine. Henry was determined to stamp out resistance. Bishop Fisher, therefore, the friend and adviser of the saintly Margaret Beaufort, Henry's grandmother, and Thomas More, Henry's trusted companion and counsellor, were sacrificed to his imperious will, and suffered the penalty of treason on Tower Hill.

8. The Dissolution of the Monasteries (1536).—With rare exceptions, the opponents of Henry's ecclesiastical revolution had been furnished by the regular clergy, especially the Friars Observant and the Carthusians. Henry and Cromwell saw clearly that the monasteries were "garrisons of the Pope," and prepared to act accordingly. A general visitation of the religious houses was ordered, and a number of visitors were appointed, chief amongst whom were Legh, Layton, Ap Rice, and London. The first two rapidly visited the southern monasteries, and reported adversely on the conduct of the monks and on their management of monastic property. They then examined the monasteries in Yorkshire and the north, and forwarded to Cromwell scandalous accusations against the religious houses. In the second half of 1535, a large number of monasteries were visited by the commissioners, and the object of the visitation was revealed in the session of 1536. The commissioners had well understood that a favourable report was not desired by Cromwell, and in their hurried visitation had made no attempt to sift the truth of the foul tales to which they greedily listened. It is certain that

some of the monasteries had decayed financially, and had fallen into a lax state of discipline, but of any general justification for the sweeping charges brought against the monks and nuns, there is none, beyond the prejudiced reports of the visitors, against some of whom charges of grave misconduct were subsequently proved. Nevertheless, on the strength of these reports, or "comperta," as they were called, a bill was laid before Parliament for the suppression of all religious houses whose income was less than £200. Parliament, according to the preamble of the Act, made no attempt to verify the accusations, but, as usual, gave way before the royal will. At the same time, the Act admitted that in the larger monasteries religion was "right well kept." This, however, did not save them, for during the next three years such pressure, on one pretext or another, was put on them that they were terrified into surrender. Those that held out were abolished by Parliament in 1539.

9. The Pilgrimage of Grace and its Results (1536).

—With the suppression of the lesser monasteries, the last session of the Reformation Parliament ended. Early in the year 1536, Catherine of Aragon had died, and both Henry and Anne had shown an unseemly pleasure at the news. But Henry was already tired of Anne, and anxious to marry his new favourite, Jane Seymour. Four months after Catherine's death, terrible charges were brought against Anne, and she was beheaded on Tower Green. On the following day, Henry married Jane Seymour.

Meanwhile the dissolution of the monasteries had given rise to violent disturbances, and Lincolnshire and the north rose in rebellion. The insurgents, while professing loyalty to Henry, demanded the dismissal of Cromwell, the punishment of heretical bishops like Cranmer and Latimer, and the restoration of the papal authority. The rebellion in Lincolnshire soon collapsed, but that in Yorkshire, which was headed by Robert Aske, and took the name of the "Pilgrimage of Grace," was far more formidable. The rebels marched as far as the river Don, where they were met by the Duke of Norfolk, who saw

himself compelled to offer a truce, by which it was agreed that the rebels should send two delegates to lay their case before the king. Henry was forced to temporize, and Norfolk was authorized to promise the summons of a free Parliament to be held in the north for the discussion of all complaints. Aske and his followers, trusting in the royal promise of pardon, at once submitted. As soon as the insurgents had disbanded, Henry threw off the mask, and the insurgents, seeing that the promises made to them would not be kept, again rose in resistance (1537). But the spirit of the movement had been broken, and the Duke of Norfolk was able to stamp out opposition. All over the north the royal triumph was signalized by a series of butcheries under martial law. Aske had clung to the belief in the promises made by Henry, and had tried to prevent the renewal of the rebellion, but this did not save him from a charge of treason. He was executed, and with him perished Lord Darcy, Lord Hussey, four northern abbots, and a number of the leading gentry of the north. A special court, the Council of the North, was set up to coerce the disaffected districts.

The crisis of 1536-1537 had been a severe one, for if the insurgents had crossed the Don in 1536, Henry would have been forced to yield, and his throne might have been in danger. Affairs on the Continent were also in a critical state, for the long struggle between the emperor and Francis was drawing to a close, and it was, at least, possible that Charles V. and Francis I. might sink their political rivalries, and, at the bidding of the Pope, carry out a sentence of deposition against Henry. But the dangers in England had been successfully passed, and Henry's power seemed stronger than ever. The confiscation of church property was now pushed on rapidly, and the royal commissioners swept through the country, receiving the enforced surrender of monastic property. Resistance was treated as treason, and in 1539 the mitred abbots of Reading, Glastonbury, and Colchester, who had nobly made a stand against the royal rapacity, were executed, after trials which were parodies of justice. By the

end of 1540, religious houses had ceased to exist. Meanwhile the royal commissioners had laid hands on the great shrines, such as that of Our Lady of Walsingham, which the piety of centuries had enriched. Waggon loads of gold and silver and other treasure were carried off from the shrine of St. Thomas of Canterbury, and the relics of the saint were contemptuously destroyed.

The value of the immense mass of property in land and goods which fell into the royal hands cannot be accurately known. The annual income of the monasteries has been estimated at two millions of our present money. But only a small proportion of the proceeds of confiscation reached the royal treasury. The king was compelled to purchase support by lavish grants to his courtiers and ministers, and by sales of monastic lands to powerful nobles at rates far below their value. The ruins which still survive attest the splendour and beauty of the buildings so wantonly destroyed, but the loss to the arts and to literature, caused by the destruction of libraries and works of art of every kind, cannot be estimated. A small portion of the confiscated property was restored to religious uses by the foundation of six new bishoprics, and something was spent on educational establishments at the Universities, and on fortifying the coast. But, as a rule, apart from the Crown, the class which profited by the confiscations was that of the "new men," the Russells, Pagets, Dudleys, Seymours, and others, who founded a new nobility, identified in interest with the policy of Henry VIII. The new landlords who took the place of the monks proved grasping in the treatment of their tenants, and the spread of enclosures for sheep-farming, with the consequent eviction of tenants, was a cause of great distress, and of social discontent.

10. The Attainder of the Poles (1539).—The House of York was now represented by the Marquis of Exeter, whose mother was daughter of Edward IV., and by Margaret, Countess of Salisbury, niece of Edward IV., and sister of the Earl of Warwick, executed by Henry VII. in 1499. Margaret had married Sir Richard Pole, and her sons were

Lord Montague, Arthur, Geoffrey, and Reginald. The last had been a great favourite of Henry VIII., who had superintended the education, which had made him one of the foremost scholars of the day. But he had gone abroad in 1522, and when Henry asked for his opinion on the royal supremacy, he wrote his treatise "De Unitate Ecclesiastica" condemning Henry's policy. He was created a cardinal, and shortly after was made a legate. He became the centre of the opposition to Henry on the Continent, and the king, having failed to obtain the surrender of Pole by the emperor and Francis, visited his wrath on the cardinal's relations. Exeter was accused of plotting against the Tudor dynasty, and Geoffrey Pole, who was arrested, revealed to the Government that his brothers, Lord Montague and Lord Exeter, were in communication with Cardinal Pole. The two noblemen were tried for treason and executed in 1539, while the aged Countess of Salisbury was attainted by Parliament and sent to the Tower. After two years in prison she was beheaded without a trial.

II. The Bill of Six Articles (1539).—Henry's theological position was liable to variations in accordance with his political needs. Two powerful parties had formed. One led by Cromwell, Cranmer, and Latimer, wished Henry to place himself at the head of a Continental anti-papal league, while the other, under the Duke of Norfolk, Gardiner, Bishop of Winchester, and Bonner, Bishop of London, wanted no doctrinal changes beyond the denial of the papal supremacy. In 1535, under the influence of Anne Boleyn, Henry had seemed willing to accept the Lutheran Confession of Augsburg, and in 1539 a controversial translation of the Bible, mainly the work of Tyndal, was ordered to be set up in all the churches. But a reaction set in after the Pilgrimage of Grace, and Norfolk brought the subject of religious differences before Parliament. The result was the Bill of Six Articles, affirming the doctrine of Transubstantiation, auricular Confession, Communion in one kind, celibacy of clergy, vows of chastity, and private Masses. The denial of the first article was ordered to be punished with death by burning. The law was severe, but in practice it was

not administered with severity, for the number of executions under it during the rest of the reign was only twenty-seven.

12. The Fall of Cromwell (1540).—The Six Articles were a blow to Cromwell's influence; but Henry was now a widower, for Queen Jane had died in 1537, after the birth of Prince Edward, and Cromwell, in order to commit Henry definitely to the Protestant side, negotiated a marriage between his master and Anne, sister of the Duke of Cleves. The king was married to Anne early in 1540, and soon after Cromwell was created Earl of Essex. The object of the match had been to strengthen the Protestant league against the emperor, of which the Duke of Cleves was an important member, and thus ward off the attack on England which Charles V. was planning. But the league came to terms with the emperor, and Henry, seeing that nothing could be obtained from the German Lutherans, determined to get rid of Anne, whose lack of beauty had disgusted him from the first. This implied a reversal of the policy upheld by Cromwell, who was therefore sacrificed to his enemies. He was arrested at the Council, and a bill of attainder was passed against him. Convocation declared the king's marriage null and void, and Cromwell was executed. The triumph of the conservative party was marked by a marriage between Henry and Catherine Howard, the beautiful niece of the Duke of Norfolk, and for the rest of the reign doctrinal changes were checked. The execution of the Queen Catherine in 1542 on charges of infidelity had no political influence. Henry shortly after married his last wife, Catherine Parr, who contrived to survive her royal husband.

13. Wars with Scotland and France.—Since Flodden Field, England had not been seriously troubled in the north, but when James V. grew up he joined the French alliance, and married into the French royal house. In 1542 Henry replied to a Scottish border raid by ordering Norfolk to invade Scotland. James retaliated by sending a force into England, but the expedition was completely routed at Solway Moss. James died broken hearted at the news, leaving his kingdom to his infant daughter Mary. Henry thereupon proposed to

unite the two kingdoms by a marriage between Mary and his son Edward. The marriage treaty was sanctioned by the Scottish Parliament; but through the influence of Cardinal Beaton, the leader of the French party in Scotland, it was set aside, and the French alliance was renewed.

Meanwhile, in 1543, Henry had at last come to terms with the emperor, and concluded an alliance against Francis, thus reverting to the policy of his earlier days. In 1544 he led an expedition into France, and captured Boulogne, but only to find himself deserted by Charles, who made a separate peace with France at Crêpy. In 1545 the French sent a great fleet to attack the south coast, but without success, and in the following year peace was made. Henry was to retain Boulogne for eight years. With Scotland the war had been waged with great bitterness. In 1544, Edward Seymour, Earl of Hertford, devastated the south-east and burnt Edinburgh; but a second expedition was unsuccessful, and the English were defeated at Ancrum Muir. In 1546 a conspiracy to murder Cardinal Beaton, which was favoured by Henry, proved successful, and the murderers, supported by England, seized the Castle of St. Andrew's. The Scots were therefore glad to be included in the peace made by France in 1546.

These wars necessitated heavy taxation, for the confiscated wealth of the Church had all been squandered. A new expedient was adopted, the debasement of the currency, which shook the credit of the Government and inflicted a cruel wrong on the people. The coinage was debased to one third of its proper value, and the great rise in prices, which followed as a necessary consequence, pressed terribly on the labouring classes, who could not secure a corresponding rise in wages.

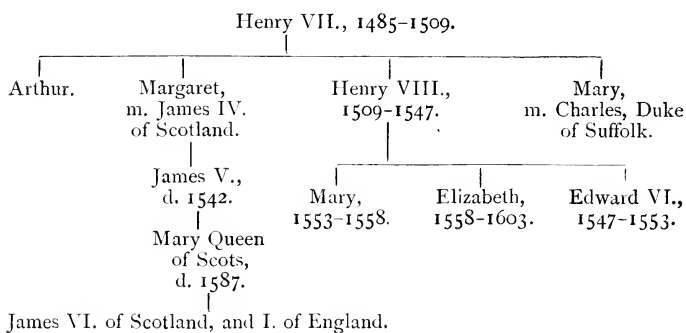
On all sides, as the reign drew to a close, the evil results of Henry's policy made themselves felt. It was clear that the position he had taken up in religious matters could not be maintained. In the chaotic state of affairs, that which was allowed to be truth one year was punished as heresy in another. Lutherans, who upheld the doctrine of consubstantiation, were

burned side by side with Catholics, who upheld the Pope's authority. The country was seething with discontent and social disorder, and the Government struck wildly at every possible enemy. The last execution of Henry's reign was that of the Earl of Surrey, on the flimsy charge of treason, and his father, the Duke of Norfolk, would have shared the same fate, had not death prevented Henry from giving his assent to the bill of attainder.

CHIEF EVENTS.

	A. D.
Battle of Flodden	1513.
Beginning of the Divorce Question	1522.
Fall of Wolsey	1529.
Act of Supremacy	1534.
Pilgrimage of Grace	1536.
Bill of Six Articles	1539.
Fall of Cromwell	1540.
Defeat of the Scots at Solway Moss	1542.

THE TUDOR DYNASTY.



CHAPTER XXVI.

EDWARD VI. (1547-1553).

1. The Regency.—Henry VIII. had been empowered by Parliament to settle the succession by will, and he had named as his successors his son Edward, and, in the event of the latter dying without issue, his daughters Mary and Elizabeth. Failing these, the Crown was to devolve upon the descendants of his younger sister, Mary, Duchess of Suffolk, thus ignoring the claims of his elder sister, Margaret of Scotland. Edward VI., who was only nine years old at his accession, was a sickly and precocious child. He was incapable of showing feelings of affection or gratitude, but he was sincerely religious and devoted to the narrow Protestant creed, which he accepted. Like all the Tudors, he was admirably educated.

Henry, in his will, had named eighteen executors as a Council of Regency, and had tried to secure the permanence of his religious settlement by balancing the two parties in the Council under the presidency of Edward Seymour, Earl of Hertford. But this arrangement was promptly upset, and Hertford was made Lord Protector, with the title of Duke of Somerset. His brother Thomas became Lord Seymour of Sudeley, and Dudley, son of the obnoxious minister of Henry VII., was made Earl of Warwick. Gardiner and the rest of the party opposed to religious changes were excluded from power.

2. Somerset's Wars.—Somerset's foreign and domestic policies were equally disastrous. Finding that the Scots would not agree to the proposed marriage between their Queen Mary and King Edward, Somerset invaded Scotland in 1547. A decisive victory was gained over the Scots at Pinkie Cleugh,

or Musselburgh, and the English advanced to Leith, pillaging as they went. But the military triumph was dearly bought, for it destroyed, for the time being, the English party in Scotland, and threw that country into the arms of Henry II., the new King of France. The young Queen of Scots was at once sent to France as the future bride of Francis, Henry's eldest son, while Scotland was ruled by the young queen's mother, Mary of Guise, in the interests of Catholicism and France. Moreover, the war with Scotland was certain to bring about a renewal of the struggle with France, for which England was unprepared.

3. Religious Changes.—Somerset was determined to push on the Reformation in the Protestant direction, and thus to abandon the quasi-orthodox position adopted by the Bill of Six Articles. The bishops were ordered to take out fresh commissions to exercise their functions, and royal injunctions were issued, ordering the destruction of shrines, religious images, and pictures. An Act, in 1547, ordered the reception of the Blessed Sacrament in both kinds, and in the same year another Act abolished all chantries, hospitals, religious guilds, and colleges, and gave their property to the Crown. An exception was made in favour of the Universities, and of Eton and Winchester Colleges, and in the case of London, and a few other important towns, the guilds were spared. In 1548 the first Prayer-book of Edward VI. was completed, the result of the labours of Cranmer and other Protestant theologians. It was ratified in Parliament by the Act of Uniformity (1549). Another Act legalized the marriage of the clergy.

In 1549 Parliament passed a bill of attainder against the Protector's brother, Lord Seymour of Sudeley, a man of bad character and overweening ambitions. He had married Catherine Parr, widow of Henry VIII., and on her death aspired to marry Elizabeth, the king's sister. Like the rest of the unscrupulous gang, who monopolized power, he sought to enrich himself at the public expense, but his personal ambitions made him a danger to the Government, and in March he was attained as a traitor, and executed.

4. The Rebellions of 1549.—The spread of enclosures was an ancient grievance, but the evil had been greatly increased by the dissolution of the monasteries. The new landlords held views of their rights different from those which the monks had taken, and a bitter class hatred was the result of the new policy of extortionate rent-raising. Somerset had issued a commission to inquire into the matter, but it had only roused hopes doomed to be disappointed. In July, 1549, popular feeling in Norfolk vented itself in an attack on the system of enclosures, under the leadership of Robert Ket. The rebels entrenched themselves on Mousehold Hill, overlooking Norwich, and after defeating the Earl of Northampton, captured the city. The Council then ordered the Earl of Warwick to attack them, and the rebels were defeated, losing 3000 men. Meanwhile, in Devonshire and Cornwall, a rising had been caused by the introduction of the new service in English, which the people declared was "like a Christmas game." The rebels besieged Exeter, and in the articles which they sent to the Government, they demanded, among other things, the restoration of the Mass, the suppression of the new version of the Bible, and the summons of Cardinal Pole to the Council. The movement was, however, badly directed, and no attempt was made to advance on London. The Government was thus able to bring up troops, mostly German mercenaries, and the insurgents, after a gallant resistance, were routed with heavy losses. The two rebellions, and the general failure of Somerset's policy, led to a crisis in the Government. The Council determined to get rid of the Protector, and after a vain appeal to the people, Somerset submitted. He was degraded from his high position, and sent to the Tower (October, 1549).

5. The Rule of Northumberland.—The fall of Somerset brought no increase of efficiency to the Government. Warwick, intent on the interests of his family, and caring little for religion, threw himself on the side of Protestantism in its extreme form, as the means which would lead him to power and wealth. The unprincipled councillors vied with each other in the

greedy scramble for the spoils of the Church. Bishoprics were plundered of the lands which belonged to them, and bishops, like Gardiner, Bonner, Heath, and Day, who protested against the sweeping innovations, were silenced by imprisonment and deprivation. The extreme reforming party now came steadily to the front, and with them the influence of the foreign reformers, like Bucer and Peter Martyr, who flocked into the country. Ridley, who became Bishop of London on the illegal deprivation of Bonner, was foremost in proclaiming extreme Calvinistic views, for Cranmer, as was his custom, drifted with the tide of events, uncertain of his own beliefs, and forced to condone acts of which he could not altogether approve. In 1550 an order of the Council, which reflected the views of Ridley and his followers, enjoined the removal of all altars, and the setting up of tables in their place. About the same time royal commissioners visited the University of Oxford, and plundered the college libraries and chapels, while other commissioners swept the country to carry off for the king's use all superfluous Church plate and vestments. Changes in the liturgy were the necessary consequence of the spread of extreme views, and a second Prayer-book was issued, differing more widely than the first had done from Catholic doctrine and practice. To enforce the new Prayer-book, a second Act of Uniformity was passed (1552).

Since his fall from power Somerset had been released from the Tower and allowed to return to the Council; but he was dogged by the suspicions of Warwick, who could not feel safe while he was alive. He was arrested on a charge of conspiring to murder Warwick, and was executed (January, 1552). Warwick, who had now become Duke of Northumberland, appeared all-powerful, and by marrying his son Guilford Dudley to Lady Jane Grey, the heiress of Mary, Duchess of Suffolk, he took a step towards securing the Crown for his family. The health of the young king was now rapidly failing, and Northumberland, therefore, suggested to Edward that, in order to preserve the Protestant religion, Mary must be set aside in favour of Lady Jane Grey. The boy-king yielded

and signed a will passing over Mary and Elizabeth as illegitimate, and appointing Jane to be his successor. He died shortly afterwards.

It is, of course, impossible to hold that Edward VI., a boy who died at the age of sixteen, was responsible for the crimes and profanities perpetrated by the statesmen and bishops who surrounded his throne. Even Henry VIII. had been appalled by the storm of blasphemy and evil doing which the innovations had let loose, and with a weak king, under the sway of advisers who saw in religious changes opportunities to enrich themselves, it was natural that matters should grow worse. Honest Reformers like Bishop Latimer were compelled to denounce the moral evils which the changes had brought. And, indeed, the evils were written large across the face of the country. "To the Universities the Reformation had brought with it desolation. To the people of England it had brought misery and want. The once open hand was closed; the once open heart was hardened; the ancient loyalty of man to man was exchanged for the scuffling of selfishness; the change of faith had brought with it no increase of freedom, and less of charity. The prisons were crowded, as before, with sufferers for opinion, and the creed of a thousand years was made a crime by a doctrine of yesterday; monks and nuns wandered by hedge and highway, as missionaries of discontent, and pointed with bitter effect to the fruits of the new belief, which had been crimsoned in the blood of thousands of English peasants." ¹

CHIEF EVENTS.

	A. D.
Battle of Pinkie	1547.
Fall of Somerset	1549.
Acts of Uniformity	1549, 1552.
Warwick becomes Duke of Northumberland	1551.
Execution of Somerset	1552.

¹ Froude, "History of England," vol. v. p. 202.

CHAPTER XXVII.

MARY (1553-1558).

1. Mary's Accession.—Northumberland's elaborate plans at once broke down, for the nation was in thorough sympathy with Mary, whose wrongs, like those of her mother, appealed to the loyalty of her subjects. Except amongst the extreme Protestants, headed by Cranmer and Ridley, and the personal adherents of Northumberland, Lady Jane, who was proclaimed queen by her father-in-law, had no real supporters. Northumberland's efforts to seize Mary failed, and as soon as he left London to attack Mary the capital declared for the lawful queen. Northumberland was arrested at Cambridge, and made an abject appeal for mercy. Mary refused to listen to the suggestion of the Imperial Ambassador Renard that Lady Jane should be executed, and was even anxious to spare Northumberland. But this was impossible, and the duke, with two other leading conspirators, was executed. On the scaffold he declared his sincere belief in the Catholic faith, and urged his hearers to be reconciled to the Church.

2. The Religious Difficulty.—From the first Mary avowed her intention of undoing the ecclesiastical revolution of the previous reign. Gardiner and the other deprived bishops were restored to their sees. Ridley, who had preached in favour of Lady Jane Grey, together with other Protestant leaders, was imprisoned. The foreign Protestants were invited to leave the kingdom, for the queen, as she declared in a proclamation to her subjects, was determined not to use compulsion in matters of religion till further counsel were taken by common consent. It seemed that even Cranmer,

the man who had pronounced the divorce of Mary's mother in 1533, and more recently had upheld the claim of Mary's rival, would be untouched; but a violent letter which he published, attacking the doctrine of the Mass, forced the Government to deal with him, and he was sent to the Tower charged with treason.

Immediately after the coronation, Mary's first Parliament met to consider the restoration of religion. In many parts of the country the ancient services had been restored in spite of the Act of Uniformity, and the quarrels between the adherents of the ancient worship and of the Prayer-book of 1552 threatened the public peace. To decide this and allied questions Parliament passed a series of Acts, repealing all laws of Edward VI. dealing with religion. This restored the Church to the position in which Henry VIII. had left it. At the same time the divorce of Catherine and Henry VIII. was declared invalid. For the time being the queen retained the title of Supreme Head of the Church, using the position to undo the work of the previous reign. Thus in 1554 the queen issued injunctions on clerical discipline, forbidding marriage of the clergy, and restoring a number of ceremonies which had been suppressed. A large number of married clergy, estimated at 2000, were expelled from their livings. Bishops who had married or had been irregularly appointed under Edward VI. were deprived.

2. The Spanish Match and the Reconciliation with Rome.—It was impossible that Mary should rest contented with a mere restoration of the religious settlement of Henry VIII. Loyalty to her mother's honour as well as her own deepest convictions required that the schism which Henry's divorce had caused should be healed, and that the papal authority should be restored as the law of the land. At the beginning of her reign the Pope, Julius III., had appointed Cardinal Pole legate to England with the most ample powers, and at Rome the reconciliation of England to the Holy See was regarded as immediate. But the Emperor Charles V. understood more clearly the difficulties of Mary's position,

and he advised her to proceed with caution. Moreover, the emperor was anxious to bring about a marriage between Mary and his son Philip, and this also was a matter likely to arouse opposition. Parliament urged the queen to marry, but not to choose a foreign husband, and the popular feeling against the Spanish marriage was skilfully fomented by the French Ambassador de Noailles. Unfortunately for herself and for her people opposition only raised in Mary the Tudor impatience of resistance, and the marriage was determined on. In order to settle one difficulty at the time, Charles V. detained Pole in the Netherlands until the marriage was solemnised. Although Mary carried her point, Gardiner in the marriage treaty secured terms which safeguarded English rights, and made Philip's position in England that of a nominal king.

As soon as the treaty was published in 1554 rebellions broke out. The Duke of Suffolk, forgetful of the magnanimous treatment he and his family had received from Mary, tried to raise the Midlands, but was defeated and captured. Another rising in Devonshire, under Carew, was crushed, but the movement headed by Sir Thomas Wyatt at first seemed more formidable. With a considerable following of Kentish men and malcontent Londoners, he advanced on the capital. Mary, however, addressed the citizens in the Guildhall, and won them over by promising not to marry without the consent of Parliament. Wyatt therefore found no supporters in London, and, deserted by his followers, he was arrested. His failure sealed the fate of Lady Jane Grey, who was executed with her husband. Suffolk, Wyatt, and a few of the leading rebels were also put to death. How far Elizabeth was involved in the conspiracy is uncertain, but Mary refused to listen to the advice of the emperor that Elizabeth should be put to death. After a short detention in the Tower she was released. In July, 1554, Philip arrived, and the marriage was solemnised at Winchester.

Nothing now stood in the way of the fulfilment of Mary's most cherished aim, the restoration of the papal supremacy.

Pole was at last allowed by the emperor to leave for England. Before he left he had received from Julius III. powers to allow the holders of monastic property to retain their possessions. Parliament met in November, 1554. The attainder against Pole, passed under Henry VIII., was reversed, and shortly after the legate landed. The two Houses of Parliament were formally absolved from the guilt of heresy and schism. Convocation also made its peace with Rome. To ratify the proceedings, Pole published a document confirming holders of confiscated Church property in their possessions without fear of ecclesiastical censure. This dispensation was inserted in the Act of Parliament which restored the papal supremacy, and declared that the title of Supreme Head of the Church never rightfully belonged to the Crown. The laws against heresy, passed under Henry IV. and Henry V., were revived.

3. The Protestant Martyrs.—The terrible deeds of the four last years of Mary's reign have blackened her memory in the eyes of posterity, and attached to her name a cruel epithet. But these matters cannot be judged from the standpoint of to-day. For, in the *first* place, it is certain that Mary's disposition, in spite of all the embittering experiences of her early life, did not lean to harshness. Her magnanimous treatment of the conspirators at the beginning of her reign, and of those who had harassed and humiliated her in the reigns of her father and brother, shows a loftiness of character without a parallel at the time. Of the integrity of her conduct, her kindness to her dependents and to the poor, there is ample proof. But in Mary's mind the Reformation was associated with outrages on all that she held sacred. It had begun with the rupture of the bond of marriage between her father and mother, which branded Mary herself as illegitimate. It had forced on the nation the denial of the papal authority, a belief which to Englishmen was coeval with their Christianity, and it had ended in an orgy of rapine and profanity under Edward VI. And, in the *second* place, Mary necessarily shared the universal belief of her time, that it was the duty of the civil power to put

down erroneous doctrine, a belief held by Protestants as well as Catholics. Thus Calvin burnt the Socinian Servetus; Cranmer sent Anabaptists to the stake, and in the code of ecclesiastical discipline, which he drew up under Edward VI., belief in Transubstantiation and the papal supremacy was to be punished as heresy. Two centuries had yet to pass before men could realise the cruel futility of religious persecution. Moreover, recent writers have acquitted Gardiner and the bishops of personal cruelty in dealing with heretics, and justice has even been done to the rough but not unkindly Bonner, whom Fox, the Protestant martyrologist, specially holds up to obloquy. The persecution was mainly the act of the State, and it was the Council which urged on the bishops to proceed against heresy. And *lastly*, even if we blame Mary and her advisers, in justice it must be remembered that some at least of the Protestant martyrs were guilty of treason, and that others drew down upon themselves the penalties of heresy by the hideous profanity of their conduct. Men who parodied the beliefs of the majority of their fellow-countrymen inevitably provoked a spirit of reprisal, and involved the nobler spirits of their party in a common fate. Still, in spite of these considerations, the fact remains that an appalling number, variously estimated at from 250 to 300 persons, perished under the Marian persecution, and however great the errors of opinion or conduct of the Protestant martyrs, no one would refuse a tribute of respect to the courage with which they met their terrible punishment.

The persecution, which was almost confined to the dioceses of Canterbury, London, Norwich, and Chichester, began with the burning of John Rogers early in 1555, and the deaths by burning of Hooper, Ferrar, Ridley, and Latimer. Ninety other condemned heretics followed in rapid succession in the same year. The sufferers were in nearly every case men of humble circumstances, a fact which made their execution for purposes of example altogether useless. Cranmer's execution did not take place till 1556, and was preceded by a series of recantations, in which the weakness of character, so noticeable throughout his career, asserted itself. He had been formally

degraded by order of the Pope, and was brought to Oxford to die. But the fear of death shook his constancy, and he signed at least six formal recantations of his errors. It was expected that he would repeat the abjuration of heresy at his execution; but at the last moment his courage returned, and, repudiating all the documents which he had signed, he went without wavering to the stake. Cardinal Pole was at once appointed to the Archbishopric of Canterbury.

4. The Loss of Calais.—Mary's life, except for the short period from her accession to her marriage, was full of bitter disappointments, and the gloom deepened as the reign drew to a close. The persecution of the Protestants continued, but the severity only produced greater bitterness, so that heresy and treason went hand in hand. Mary's domestic life was unhappy, for Philip was soon weary of his elderly wife, and the marriage was not blessed with the birth of an heir. Gardiner had died in 1555, and, except for Pole, the queen was without a real friend. In her loneliness she was assailed by the scurrilous libels of her Protestant subjects. Risings took place, backed by French help, but these were easily suppressed. Parliament, however, showed itself restive under the demand for money, for Mary had burdened her finances by refounding several religious houses.

After an absence of eighteen months, Philip returned to England in 1557 to persuade Mary to join in the war with Henry II. of France, whose agents had been at the bottom of nearly every conspiracy against Mary. War was declared against France, and a large contingent of English troops, under the Earl of Pembroke, helped Philip's forces to win a great victory at St. Quentin, a town on the right bank of the Somme. But the French war involved Mary in a contest with Pope Paul IV., who, from jealousy of the Spanish power in South Italy, had placed himself under the protection of France. The Pope also disliked Pole, and decided to abrogate his legatine powers in spite of the entreaties of Mary, and to summon him to Rome to answer accusations against his orthodoxy. Meanwhile a crowning disaster was inflicted on England by the loss

of Calais, which was captured by the Duke of Guise in the first days of 1558.

The loss of Calais dealt a severe blow to the queen, already enfeebled by ill-health and grievous disappointments. She died on November 17, and on the same day Cardinal Pole, the close associate of her triumph and of her failures, followed her to the grave.

CHIEF EVENTS.

	A. D.
Execution of Northumberland	1553.
Wyatt's Rebellion	1554.
Restoration of the Papal authority	1554.
Execution of Cranmer	1556.
Loss of Calais	1558.

CHAPTER XXVIII.

ELIZABETH (1558-1603).

I. Elizabeth's Character.—The death of Mary brought to the throne a princess, whose personality was destined to leave an indelible mark on the history of England. Elizabeth was now in her twenty-sixth year, but her youth had been spent in a confused tangle of intrigue and sedition, and she had learnt at an early age to walk warily amidst the dangers which surrounded her. Perfectly unscrupulous, a mistress of all the arts of dissimulation, caring little for religion, coarse in her language and conduct, capable of acts of passionate vindictiveness, Elizabeth seems to have united in her person the worst traits of the imperious House of Tudor. Added to this she was inordinately vain, and while parsimonious in rewarding those who worked unceasingly for her greatness, she showered benefits on the throng of courtiers who knew how to win her favour by their flatteries. Highly educated and accomplished, she was, nevertheless, practically untouched by the marvellous intellectual movement of her reign. The great giants of literature, Shakespeare, Marlowe, Spenser, and Hooker, owed little to her patronage. But with all her failings Elizabeth knew to an extraordinary degree how to direct and utilise the great forces of the time. Self-centred as she was, she had an instinctive knowledge of the political aspirations of her people. In her amazing activity of body and mind she summed up the leading characteristics of her age—its love of splendour, its daring, its patriotism, its exuberant vitality. She gathered around her a group of statesmen, the two Cecils, Walsingham, Nicholas Bacon, who served her with untiring fidelity. But she was to the last the mistress of

her own policy, although willing enough to throw the blame of her failures on the ministers, who groaned under the burden of her caprices and vacillations. We speak justly of her reign as the Elizabethan age, because for good or ill she shaped the destinies of England.

2. The Settlement of Religion.—The most pressing question was the religious problem, and luckily for Elizabeth she was able to deal with it without fear of interference from abroad. France was on the verge of the wars between Huguenots and Catholics, which were to keep her distracted for forty years, and Philip of Spain had too many difficulties of his own to be able to afford to quarrel with England. The queen had conformed to the Catholic religion under Mary, but she soon showed in which direction her sympathies lay. The new councillors whom she appointed were favourable to Protestantism, and although she still heard Mass, she forbade the elevation of the Host in her presence. The existing services were ordered to be retained, but only “until consultation might be had in Parliament.” The bishops, therefore, with one exception, Oglethorpe of Carlisle, refused to officiate at her coronation. Parliament was summoned, and Convocation at once affirmed its adhesion to the Marian settlement. A series of Articles, declaring the belief of the clergy in Transubstantiation, the papal supremacy, and the sacrifice of the Mass, was passed unanimously and was also accepted by the two Universities. To parry the attack the Government ordered a number of public disputations, and meanwhile Parliament swept away the religious settlement of 1554.

The Act of Supremacy (1559) declared that no foreign prince or prelate had any jurisdiction within the realm; that all spiritual jurisdiction which could be lawfully exercised for the correction and punishment of heresies and schisms belonged to the Crown; and that any person who maintained the papal authority should suffer the penalties of high treason for the third offence. The Act also empowered the queen to issue commissions under the Great Seal to enforce her spiritual authority, and under this clause the Court of High Commission was set

up. The appointment of bishops by *congé d'élire* was revived. By the Act of Uniformity (1559) the second Prayer-book of Edward VI., with certain modifications in the direction of orthodoxy, was authorised, and it was ordered that any clergyman who used any other form should incur the penalty of imprisonment for life for the third offence. Annates, which Mary had surrendered, were revived and given to the Crown, and Mary's religious houses were confiscated for the benefit of the royal revenues.

The religious changes were strenuously resisted by the bishops and by a number of lay peers, so that the Act of Uniformity only passed the Lords by a majority of three. The oath of Supremacy was therefore tendered to the bishops; it was taken by Kitchin, Bishop of Llandaff, but the rest refused and were deprived of their sees. The example of the bishops was followed by the leading clergy in the dioceses and the two Universities with similar consequences. As to the number of the lesser clergy who conformed there is no precise information, but it appears to have been very considerable.

To provide a hierarchy for the new Church, which was to rise from the ruins of the old, the Government nominated Matthew Parker and a number of others for election by *congé d'élire*. Parker was consecrated by Barlow, assisted by Hodgkin, Scory, and Coverdale. Of the first two, Barlow possibly, and Hodgkin certainly, had been consecrated according to the Catholic Pontifical,¹ but the Ordinal used for the consecration of Parker was that drawn up under Edward VI., and was expressly designed to exclude the doctrine of a sacrificial priesthood. This radical alteration of an ancient rite, apart from the irregularity of the circumstances attending the consecration of Parker, destroyed in the view of Catholics the validity

¹ The consecration of Barlow has been questioned on account of the absence of any record, together with the fact that it seems impossible to assign any day on which it could have taken place. Moreover, he held and expressed the view that consecration was not necessary. On the other hand, there is no proof that his position as a bishop was challenged by his contemporaries.

of the Orders of the reformed Church, and thus created an impassable barrier between the ancient Church and that created by Elizabeth, her ministers, and Parliament. The Elizabethan settlement was moreover a compromise, and as such it gave no satisfaction either to those who remained faithful to Catholicism, or to those who wished the change of religion to carry with it far more sweeping modifications of doctrine and ritual. But it gradually won its way amongst those whose faith had been shaken by the violent oscillations of the previous reigns, and by the end of the century it had gained a large measure of support from the bulk of the nation.

4. Peace with France (1559).—At her accession Elizabeth found England still entangled in the war with France, which had resulted in the humiliating loss of Calais. Philip of Spain was deeply anxious to retain the friendship of England, for it secured to him a safe passage for his ships up the Channel and therefore access by sea to his dominions in the Netherlands. He had already offered to procure the Pope's dispensation to enable him to marry Elizabeth; but the offer was rejected, both because Elizabeth had determined to remain independent, and because by recognising the validity of a papal dispensation she would be implicitly declaring herself illegitimate. Shortly after a peace conference opened at Câteau Cambresis and the combatants came to terms. Henry II. of France agreed to restore Calais in eight years' time, under a penalty of forfeiting 500,000 crowns. During the festivities which celebrated the peace between France and Spain, after so many years of war, the king, Henry II., was wounded at a tournament, and at his death the Crown passed to his son Francis II., the husband of Mary Queen of Scots. Francis II., however, died in 1560, and Mary returned to Scotland.

5. Scottish Affairs (1561–1569).—Mary had been absent from Scotland for twelve years, during which the Reformation had made great progress in the country. In Scotland the religious changes were initiated by the nobles, who saw in the Reformation movement a weapon to break down the power of the Crown and a means to enrich themselves at the expense of

the Church, which had lost its hold on the people. While Mary had been in France her kingdom had been ruled by her mother, Mary of Guise, and the effect of the French alliance had been at first to discourage Protestantism ; but the accession of Elizabeth, and the final breach between England and Rome, gave an impulse to the cause of the Reformation in Scotland. In 1559 John Knox, the apostle of Calvinism, the form which Protestantism had taken in France, returned to Scotland and organised the revolt against the Church. The Scottish nobles had formed themselves into a league, the "Lords of the Congregation," and these, inspired by Knox, rebelled against the regent, Mary of Guise, and taking up arms seized Edinburgh and declared the regent deposed. As they knew that they would be unable to hold out against the French troops, whom Mary of Guise could summon to her aid, the rebels appealed to Elizabeth. The queen was unwilling to appear to support rebels against their lawful sovereign, but she agreed in 1560 to help the nobles to expel the French from Scotland, and an English fleet blockaded the French garrison which held the fortress of Leith. The outbreak of the Huguenot troubles in France forced the French Government to withdraw its troops from Scotland, and by the Treaty of Edinburgh it was agreed that foreigners should not be employed in Scotland without the consent of Parliament, and that Parliament should settle the religious question. Before the treaty was completed the regent died, and Presbyterianism was at once proclaimed the religion of the Scottish people ; to say Mass or to be present at the celebration of Mass was made punishable by death. At the same time a great iconoclastic movement vented itself on the beautiful churches and monasteries of Scotland, and the spoliation of the church by the nobles was carried out on a scale which surpassed the analogous movement in England under Edward VI. Affairs were in this condition when Mary Queen of Scots returned to her native land.

6. The Fall of Mary Stuart.—Mary's character, her guilt or innocence, has been fiercely attacked and as fiercely defended. Mary, it has been well said, "was never tried by a

Court of Justice during her lifetime. Her cause has been in process of trial ever since." Her beauty, her matchless courage, her extraordinary power of inspiring a passionate devotion, these at least cannot be denied. Her gratitude to her servants for their sacrifices in her cause was as fervent as their loyalty. Nor is there any reason to suppose that in 1561 Mary, a girl of nineteen, had the hardness of heart and the power of dissimulation which have been ascribed to her. But she was destined to be schooled in a hard school, and it is no matter for wonder if the large loyalty of her nature did not survive the outrageous insults hurled at her by Knox and his party, the bitter disappointment of her marriage, and the hostility with which Elizabeth pursued her.

For four years Mary left the government in the hands of her half-brother, James Stuart, Earl of Murray, but in 1565 her marriage with her cousin, Henry Stuart, Earl of Darnley, caused a rupture with Murray, who rebelled and was driven into exile. The marriage proved most disastrous, and Darnley, worthless, vicious, and incapable, joined in a conspiracy with the Protestant party to murder the queen's favourite, David Riccio, and seize power. The murder was carried out in Mary's presence, but she contrived soon after to win over her husband, and his fellow conspirators thereupon fled to England. Three months later Mary gave birth to a son, afterwards James I. of England, and this greatly strengthened her position. But unfortunately for her reputation she gave her confidence to James, Earl of Bothwell, Darnley's enemy, and the murder of the young king, which followed in 1567, was openly ascribed to the guilty connivance of Mary in Bothwell's plans. Bothwell was put on his trial for the murder, but Darnley's father, the Earl of Lennox, was afraid to appear, and the trial was a fiasco. Mary then left Edinburgh to visit her infant son at Stirling, and on the return journey she was met by Bothwell with a large force and carried off to Dunbar. A few days later he brought the queen back to Edinburgh, and having obtained a divorce from his wife, Janet Gordon, the marriage between himself and Mary was solemnised. A

coalition against Bothwell was at once formed by a number of nobles, some of whom had been concerned directly or indirectly in the murder of both Riccio and Darnley, and had also joined in urging Bothwell to marry Mary. Forces were raised by both sides, and these met at Carberry Hill; but the hostile nobles were too strong, and Mary agreed to return to Edinburgh on condition of being treated as their sovereign. It is significant that Bothwell, whose punishment for Darnley's murder was the pretended cause of the rising, was allowed to escape, while Mary, in spite of the promises made to her, was sent to Loch Leven Castle. She was compelled to sign an abdication in favour of her infant son, and to appoint the Earl of Murray to be regent. After nine months in prison Mary escaped, and backed by the powerful family of the Hamiltons she raised a force of royalists (1568). The regent, Murray, however, defeated her adherents at Langside, near Glasgow, and the queen fled south, crossed the Solway to Workington, and threw herself on the friendship of Elizabeth.

The English queen was much embarrassed by the turn of events, and declined to see Mary until she had cleared herself of the charges brought against her. Mary refused to recognise the right of any one to judge her, and demanded to be confronted with her accusers, Murray and Morton, before the nobles of England and the foreign ambassadors. To meet the difficulties of the situation, it was decided that royal commissioners under the Duke of Norfolk should investigate the accusations, so that Elizabeth might know whether or not to help Mary to regain her throne. Murray appeared in person before the commissioners at York, and secretly laid before them translations of eight letters and some sonnets alleged to have been written by Mary to Bothwell. These were the famous "Casket Letters," the authenticity of which is contested. The inquiry now became the centre of a maze of intrigues. Mary's accusers were anxious for a compromise, because they knew that in the last resort Mary could produce evidence to implicate them in Darnley's murder, and that against this the dubious evidence of the "Casket Letters,"

denounced by Mary as forged, would weigh but little. The inquiry was transferred to London, but Mary was kept at a distance of 200 miles, and her demand to see the letters, which were the basis of the accusation against her, was evaded. Ultimately the inquiry broke down without any decision being reached. Murray returned to Scotland with the "Casket Letters," which now disappeared from public view.

7. The Northern Rebellion (1569).—Elizabeth had hoped that the result of the inquiry would leave Mary under a cloud and render her less dangerous, but instead of this the Duke of Norfolk, the head of Elizabeth's commissioners, plotted to marry Mary, and to force on Elizabeth the dismissal of Cecil, and the adoption of a friendly policy towards Spain. Norfolk was arrested and imprisoned, and Mary's supporters in the North flew to arms under the Earls of Northumberland and Westmoreland. Durham was seized, and for the last time Mass was said in the cathedral. The rebels hoped for assistance from Alva, the Spanish governor of the Netherlands. But the rising was premature, the mass of English Catholics did not move, and the rebellion collapsed without a battle. The rebels were ruthlessly punished; Northumberland was executed in 1572, but Westmoreland escaped to the Netherlands.

8. England and the Foreign Protestants.—The first ten years of Elizabeth's reign were marked by events on the Continent of primary importance to both Catholics and Protestants. Three years before Elizabeth's accession St. Ignatius Loyola had died, and the great Society, which he had founded twenty years before, by preaching and teaching, had gained already its first triumphs in the struggle against heresy. The tide of Protestant revolt began to recede before the revival of religious zeal and devotion. In 1563 the Council of Trent terminated its labours, and by restating the Church's doctrines and by instituting reforms in discipline, it had placed clearly before the world the questions at issue between Catholicism and Protestantism. While the Society of Jesus went forth to reconquer the lost territories, the

Inquisition safeguarded the interests of the Church in those countries where Catholicism was supreme, and heresy was forcibly stamped out in Italy and Spain. Above all, Spain, under Philip II., became the centre of the movement, called by historians the "Catholic Reaction," and on Spain rested the hopes of those who looked for the forcible repression of the reformed faith in England and France. Philip hoped to gain an universal empire as a reward for the services of his House in the cause of Catholicism. But this interweaving of religious and political interests had disastrous results for the cause of religion. In England Catholicism came to be identified popularly with Spanish aggression and the danger of national subjection. In France the fear that Spain would unite with the French Government to crush the Huguenots led to the outbreak of the French wars of religion in 1562, while the threatened extinction of their liberties by Alva brought about the revolt of the Netherlands in 1568.

Elizabeth's attitude towards foreign Protestants was marked by characteristic caution and selfishness. She had no ambition to play a great part as leader of an anti-Catholic coalition, but she was willing enough to paralyse the Governments of France and Spain by secretly helping their rebellious subjects with men and money. She gladly welcomed the Dutch weavers, whom the persecutions of Alva drove from their homes, and she allowed volunteers to serve in the Netherlands. But she was afraid of a coalition between the Dutch and French, which might end in the annexation of the Netherlands by France, and she therefore secretly prepared to betray the Dutch to Philip. Her policy towards the Huguenots was equally shifty. Thus in 1562 she sent a force to occupy Havre, which was placed in her hands by the Huguenot leader Condé; but the obvious selfishness of her policy alienated the Huguenots, and Condé, having made terms with the French Government, the English garrison in Havre had to surrender. Even the infamous massacre of the Huguenots on St. Bartholomew's Day (1572), did not draw her into hostile measures against Charles IX. of France. On the contrary she continued to listen, with apparent

satisfaction, to the French proposal that she should marry the king's brother the Duke d' Alençon.

9. Elizabeth and the English Catholics.—At his accession to the papal throne, Pius IV. had adopted a conciliatory attitude towards Elizabeth; but the queen had determined on her policy and refused the Pope's invitation to send envoys to the Council of Trent. Since then the friction between English Catholics and the Government had increased. Many had at first conformed to the reformed worship in order to avoid the penalties, but this was forbidden by the Council of Trent, and the withdrawal of Catholics from the National Church induced the Government to put in force the penal statutes against them. A crisis was reached in 1570 when Pius V. published a Bull, excommunicating Elizabeth and declaring her subjects absolved from their allegiance, a measure which proved most disastrous to English Catholics by giving their enemies a pretext for branding them as traitors. The Pope's action called forth in reply the Statute of 1571, which ordered that any persons procuring Bulls from Rome should suffer the penalties of high treason.

Meanwhile the Duke of Norfolk, the leading Protestant nobleman, who had been imprisoned by the queen for planning to marry Mary Queen of Scots and had been subsequently released, had become involved in the Ridolfi Plot. This was a scheme promoted by Ridolfi, an Italian merchant, to seize Elizabeth and depose her in favour of Mary. Philip of Spain agreed to help Norfolk by sending troops from the Netherlands. The plot was discovered, and Norfolk was executed for treason. Parliament urged on Elizabeth that Mary should share the same fate, but the queen forbade them to interfere in the matter.

Hitherto the spiritual needs of the Catholics had been provided for by those of the Marian priests who survived; but these were rapidly being thinned out by death, and to prevent the spiritual starvation of English Catholics, a seminary was established at Douai by William Allen. From this a stream

of fervent priests was poured into England, and the result of their labours was seen in a decided Catholic revival. The Government became alarmed. In 1577 Cuthbert Mayne was the first of the seminarist priests to suffer martyrdom, and from this time till the end of the reign the penal laws were steadily augmented in number and were severely enforced. In 1580 the Jesuit mission began with the arrival of Robert Parsons and Edmund Campion. Parliament enacted that any person who reconciled members of the Established Church to Catholicism, or who was thus reconciled, should incur the penalties of high treason. The punishment for saying Mass was a year's imprisonment, and the fine for absence from Church was increased to £20 a month. A strong effort was made to stamp out the adherents of Catholicism, and the prisons were filled with persons suspected of infringing the penal laws. Campion was arrested, and with two other priests suffered the barbarous penalties of treason. The martyrs protested to the last that they died loyal subjects of the queen. In 1585 all Jesuits and seminary priests were ordered to leave the country on pain of death, and any person who harboured them was liable to the same penalty. It is calculated that during this persecution 120 priests died on the scaffold, besides the large number of clergy and laymen who fell victims to imprisonment and torture. "No special pleading in the world, no attempt to extenuate the acts done on the ground that they were called for by the exigencies of the hour, can alter the fact, that for at least twenty years of Elizabeth's reign torture of the most revolting kind was habitually employed upon wretched men and women, who one after another declared they prayed for her as their queen, but they could not, they dared not, accept the creed she attempted to impose upon them."¹

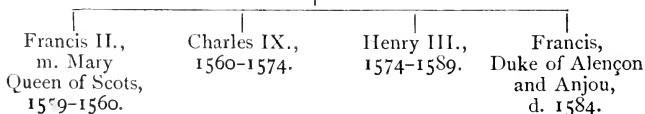
10. The Religious Struggle on the Continent.—Abroad the wars of religion were being fought out with terrible bitterness. France was convulsed by a series of civil wars. In

¹ "Dictionary of National Biography," Article, "Elizabeth."

1574 Charles IX. was succeeded by his brother Henry III.,¹ the last of the Valois kings, and two years later the Catholic party, headed by the Duke of Guise, formed the Catholic League to force the king not to temporise any longer with the Huguenots. In the Netherlands Spain had completely failed to put down the Protestants, and the Spanish troops, ill-paid and without proper leaders, marched on Antwerp and sacked the city. The result of the "Spanish Fury" (1576) was that Catholics and Protestants united to expel the Spaniards. The sovereignty of the Netherlands was conferred on Alençon, now Duke of Anjou, with whom Elizabeth had coquetted for the last eight years. Anjou proved hopelessly incompetent, and in 1583 retired to France, where he died in 1584. In this same year William of Orange was assassinated, and the sovereignty of the Netherlands was offered to Elizabeth. The queen declined the offer, but agreed in 1585 to furnish the Dutch with 4000 troops, in return for which she was to receive the towns of Flushing, Brille, and Ramequens as guarantees for the repayment of her expenses. An expedition was fitted out under the Earl of Leicester, but it was grossly mismanaged, and a detachment of the English troops was defeated by the Spanish general, the Prince of Parma, at Zutphen (1586).

II. The Execution of Mary Stuart.—Since the deposition of the Scottish queen, Scotland had passed through a period of great turbulence. In 1570 the Regent, Murray, was assassinated, and was succeeded by Darnley's father, the Earl of Lennox, who was killed in the following year. The next regent, the Earl of Mar, died after a year of power, and the Earl of Morton, the most powerful noble in Scotland, became regent, and succeeded in putting down the remnants of Mary's

¹ Henry II.,
1547-1559.



party. He contrived with great difficulty to hold his own till 1579, when the young king's cousin, Esmé Stuart, Lord d'Aubigny, came to Scotland, and gained the favour of James. Morton was accused of being implicated in the death of Darnley, and was executed in 1581. A period of anarchy followed, during which the opposing factions struggled for the possession of the young king's person. Mary herself had hopes that her son would secure her liberation, but the astute policy of Elizabeth prevented any connection being established between the Scottish king and his mother.

In 1583 a plan was formed by the Duke of Guise for a joint expedition against England on the part of France and Spain. The plot was discovered by Walsingham's spies, and Throckmorton, the chief conspirator, was arrested, and, on being racked, revealed the fact that the Spanish Ambassador Mendoza was implicated. Throckmorton was executed, and Mendoza left England. Mary was placed in rigorous confinement at Tutbury Castle, and as the idea of assassinating Elizabeth was widely prevalent, an association was formed for the queen's protection, which was joined by both Protestants and Catholics. Parliament sanctioned it, and ordered that any person on whose behalf such conspiracies were formed should be incapable of succeeding to the English throne.

The toils were now closing round Mary, who was driven to desperation by the harshness of her jailors. Her son James had deserted her and made his own terms with Elizabeth. At every step she was thwarted and out-manœuvred by Cecil and Walsingham. In 1586 Walsingham arranged matters so as to get access to Mary's letters, and was thus put on the track of a plot for the deliverance of the Scottish queen and the murder of Elizabeth. Babington and fourteen fellow conspirators were arrested and condemned. Their execution was carried out by Elizabeth's orders with unusual barbarity. Mary was removed to Fotheringay, and was tried by a special commission of peers and judges on the charge of conspiring to procure the invasion of the realm and Elizabeth's death. At the trial she did not deny the first charge, and, indeed, her conduct in trying to

procure her own liberty by armed intervention was clearly justified. But she denied all complicity in the plot to murder Elizabeth, and insisted that the letter to Babington ascribed to her was forged. She was not confronted with her two secretaries, from whom incriminating evidence had been obtained under threats of torture, nor were the originals of her letters to Babington produced. Mary was condemned to death, and both Houses of Parliament pressed Elizabeth to order the execution. The queen, however, hesitated to make herself responsible for Mary's death, and tried to induce the jailor, Sir Amyas Paulet, to assassinate his prisoner. She finally gave way, and signed the death warrant, which was carried out at Fotheringay on February 8, 1587.

12. Drake's Exploits.—For twenty-five years Elizabeth had managed to keep England out of war, but her hand was now being forced by the progress of events beyond her control. Englishmen and Spaniards in the Netherlands and on the high seas had been at war long before there was any open rupture between their respective Governments. Plundering expeditions were sent out under buccaneers like Sir John Hawkins to prey on Spanish commerce in the New World, or to carry on the slave trade. In 1577 Francis Drake, with five ships, crossed the Atlantic to the coast of Brazil, and sailing southwards passed the Straits of Magellan and entered the Pacific. He plundered the towns on the coasts of Peru and Chili, and fearing that he would be intercepted if he returned by the same route, he struck across the Pacific to the Moluccas. Thence he sailed round the Cape of Good Hope, and returned to England laden with treasure, after a voyage of three years, in which he had sailed round the world. For his exploits he was knighted by Elizabeth, and in 1585 he was given the command of an expedition to the West Indies, where he burnt or plundered the towns of St. Iago, St. Domingo, and Carthagena. In 1587 Drake, with thirty ships, six of which belonged to the royal navy, sailed for Spain, with orders to prevent the junction of the Spanish fleets, which were being got ready for Philip's projected invasion of England. Drake

boldly dashed into the harbour of Cadiz, and either destroyed or captured eighty ships.

13. The Armada (1588).—Even now Elizabeth strove to put off the struggle with Spain, and disavowed Drake's conduct. But Philip had determined to give back blow for blow, and to avenge the death of Mary Stuart, who had made him the heir of her claims to the English throne. His preparations had been delayed by Drake's magnificent daring ; but towards the end of May the "Invincible Armada" set sail for the conquest of England. It comprised 132 ships with 30,000 sailors and troops on board. It was commanded by the Duke of Medina Sidonia, and his instructions were to sail up the Channel, and to form a junction with the Prince of Parma, who was in supreme command of the Spanish forces in the Netherlands. Parma had collected a large number of flat-bottomed boats, and the Armada was to act as a convoy for these in transporting Parma's veteran troops across the Channel. Had this been achieved, Philip would have succeeded in launching a force of 17,000 of the finest troops in Europe against England. Against them and the army already on board the Armada, Elizabeth could only have brought a hastily summoned and undisciplined militia. It was clear, therefore, that the salvation of England depended on the defeat of the Spanish expedition before a landing could be effected.

On the seas the English fleet soon proved itself more than a match for the Spaniards. The royal vessels were few in number—not more than forty—but they were built after the newest type designed by Sir John Hawkins, and were more easily handled and better armed than the Spanish ships. The royal navy was, moreover, reinforced by 160 ships drawn from the mercantile marine, and these were strongly armed. On the whole, although the Spanish ships were somewhat larger, their size proved a disadvantage, for they were less easily managed ; and, being armed with cannon inferior to the English, and being also decidedly undermanned by sailors in order to carry more troops, they proved unwieldy in action,

and were easily out-manceuvred. The Duke of Medina Sidonia was totally ignorant of warfare, whether by sea or land, and his sailors, accustomed to the seafaring life of the Mediterranean or the Tropics, were not to be compared with the hardy breed of Englishmen, trained to navigate every sea, and commanded by such splendid captains as Drake, Hawkins, and Frobisher.

The English fleet was directed by Lord Howard of Effingham.¹ Lord Howard had as his chief subordinates Sir Francis Drake, who was vice-admiral, and Sir John Hawkins, who served as rear-admiral. The English fleet, after cruising between Scilly and Ushant, gathered at Plymouth to await the arrival of the Armada. A squadron under Lord Henry Seymour was detached to watch the ports of the Netherlands, where Parma's transports had collected. The land forces were under the orders of the Earl of Leicester, and it was arranged that the arrival of the Spaniards should be signalled by beacon fires, and that the militia of each county should turn out to resist a landing.

The Armada came in sight on July 28, and as soon as it had passed Plymouth the English fleet started in pursuit. The wind from the south-west blew up the Channel, and the English constantly manœuvred so as to have the wind in their favour. In the running fight, which was carried on for eight days, the English tactics were to concentrate on the flanks and rear of the Armada, and their quickness in handling their ships enabled them to cut off and capture any isolated Spanish ship before the slowly moving galleons could come to its assistance. In a helpless plight the Spanish ships sailed up the Channel, shattered by the fire of the English cannon, by which they were outranged, and unable to come to close quarters with their enemy. On August 6, Medina Sidonia anchored his fleet off Calais, but it was already clear that the junction with Parma was impossible, and that, as the Armada had lost all

¹ The tradition that Lord Howard was a Catholic is not supported by contemporary evidence; but it is certain that the Catholics as a body loyally supported the national resistance to foreign invasion.

prospect of commanding the Channel, the invasion of England was impossible. On the night of August 6, the English sent fireships amongst the Spanish fleet as it lay at anchor, and the panic-stricken Spaniards at once put to sea, but not without losing several ships by fire or by being wrecked on the French coast. The English, on the other hand, strengthened by the addition of Seymour's squadron, outnumbered the Spaniards, and in a final engagement with the enemy on August 8, off Gravelines, inflicted on Sidonia the loss of sixteen ships and 5000 men. The Spanish commander then determined, as the wind was blowing strongly from the south, to sail northwards. The English sailors had exhausted their supplies of ammunition, the deficiency of which has been unjustly ascribed to Elizabeth, and soon gave up the pursuit. The Invincible Armada, shattered by the incessant cannonade to which it had been subjected, fled northwards along the eastern coasts of Britain before a violent gale. Many ships were wrecked on the coasts of Scotland and Ireland, and only fifty-three returned to Spain.

14. Elizabeth's Foreign Policy (1589-1598).—With the crushing defeat of Spain, the great danger which had darkened the horizon of English politics for thirty years passed away. But Elizabeth, true to the cautiousness which marked her character, steadily refused to reap to the full the advantages which success opened to her. Had she chosen to interfere decisively in the Netherlands, she might have annihilated Spanish pretensions once for all; but she stood aside, and the revolted provinces had to work out their independence with little aid from England. For twenty years more, therefore, the struggle between the Dutch and Spain continued. Led by Maurice, son of William of Orange, the united provinces successfully resisted the efforts of the Duke of Parma and his successors. In 1597 Philip, to conciliate France, formed the Southern Netherlands into a separate State under his son-in-law, Archduke Albert of Austria.

In France civil war continued to rage. Philip of Spain supported the Duke of Guise and the Catholic League, and

Henry III. of France, in 1588, had been driven from Paris because he refused to bow to the League's commands, and in the end had been compelled to make the Duke of Guise lieutenant-general of the kingdom. To extricate himself from the League he ordered the assassination of Guise, and threw himself on the support of his heir, Henry of Navarre, the leader of the Huguenots. Henry III. was assassinated in 1589, and Henry of Navarre, the first of the Bourbon kings, claimed the throne. A struggle followed with the League, but in 1593 Henry became a Catholic, and thus secured his recognition by the majority of his subjects. Elizabeth, who in 1590 and 1591 had helped Henry with a large body of troops, was deeply offended. In 1598 Henry IV., by the Treaty of Vervins, made peace with Spain, and about the same time issued the Edict of Nantes, granting toleration to his Huguenot subjects.

From the defeat of the Armada to the end of her reign, the war against Spain was continued by Elizabeth. In 1589 an expedition under Norris and Drake landed in Portugal, which had been annexed by Spain in 1580, to support the Portuguese pretender. Corunna was captured, and a Spanish army was defeated, but no permanent results were achieved. In 1594 Drake and Hawkins sailed to the West Indies, but the expedition failed, and the two great captains died during the voyage. In 1596 an expedition under Lord Howard of Effingham, Lord Essex, and Sir Walter Raleigh, attacked Cadiz and destroyed the Spanish fleet and arsenal. In 1598 Philip of Spain died, and the war slowly flickered out.

15. The English Government in Ireland (1485-1558).

—The history of English rule in Ireland, from the first intervention under Strongbow and Henry II., is a sad story of almost unredeemed failure. Throughout the Middle Ages the English, shut up in the Pale, which comprised the districts of Drogheda, Dublin, Wexford, Waterford, and Cork, were just able to maintain themselves, because the Irish were too much occupied by their inter-tribal wars to combine in sweeping their invaders into the sea. Both within the Pale and beyond

IRELAND

1171 to 1798.

English Miles

0 10 20 30 40 50 60



the dyke which marked its limits inland, the wildest anarchy prevailed. The Anglo-Norman families, which had created for themselves feudal lordships outside the Pale, gradually became imbued with Irish ideas, and adopted the Irish dress and language. In 1367, by the Statute of Kilkenny, the Irish Parliament, which practically only represented the Pale, forbade Englishmen to use the Irish dress or language, and made it treason to follow the native or Brehon laws, or to marry into Irish families. The statute failed completely, and during the fifteenth century, while England was occupied by the French war and by the Wars of the Roses, Ireland was left to itself.

Henry VII. determined to reassert the supremacy of the English Crown, and sent Sir Edward Poynings as lord deputy. In 1494, Poynings' Law was passed, which ordered the Irish Parliament not to legislate on any matter without the previous sanction of the Crown. Henry VII. was, however, too weak to do much, and the Earl of Kildare, the head of the Norman family, the Fitzgeralds of the Pale and Leinster, was made Lord Deputy. Henry VIII. was opposed to the policy of ruling Ireland by great Irish lords, who derided the authority of the Crown, and determined to govern Ireland with a firm hand. The Earl Gerald of Kildare, who had succeeded his father as Lord Deputy in 1513, was summoned to England and imprisoned (1534). His son, the young Lord Thomas Fitzgerald, rebelled, but he was attacked in his stronghold, Maynooth, by the deputy Skeffington, and surrendered. The extermination of the Fitzgeralds was ordered, and Lord Thomas and his five uncles were executed in 1537. Only two members of the family, Earl Gerald, a boy of twelve, and his younger brother, survived.

The Reformation introduced a fresh element of discord into Ireland. A Parliament in Dublin, in 1536, on the demand of the deputy, Lord Leonard Grey, declared the king supreme over the Irish Church, abolished appeals to Rome, and confiscated the monasteries. At the same time the stringent Acts against the Irish dress and manners were revived. The Anglo-

Norman and Irish nobles were rewarded for their acquiescence in the religious changes by grants of titles and by a share in the spoils. In 1541 Henry VIII. assumed the title of King of Ireland. In the same year Lord Leonard Grey, who was connected by marriage with the Fitzgeralds, was accused of treason in favouring the Geraldine interest, and was executed.

The people of Ireland had viewed with indifference the religious changes ordered in 1536. Thomas Cromwell, backed by his agent Browne, Archbishop of Dublin, tried in vain to force on the Irish an active acceptance of the Reformation. He was frustrated by a dogged resistance. Under Edward VI. the deputy, Anthony St. Leger, ordered the bishops to accept the English Prayer-book, but the majority refused and were deprived, their places being taken by advanced Protestants. With the accession of Mary the papal supremacy and the Mass were restored. Unhappily, racial antagonism was increased by the creation of two new shires, Queen's County and King's County, by driving out the Irish and planting the country with English settlers. This fatal policy provoked a savage struggle between the planters and the dispossessed Irish.

16. Ireland under Elizabeth.—In 1541 the head of the powerful clan, the O'Neills of Ulster, had been created Earl of Tyrone, and at his death the English Government recognised his eldest son Matthew as heir in opposition to the claim of another son, Shane O'Neill, who declared that Matthew was not the late earl's son. Shane was acknowledged by his tribe, and Elizabeth therefore ordered Lord Deputy Sussex to proceed against him. In 1561 Sussex led a raid into the Tyrone territory, but was pursued by Shane and defeated. In spite of all the efforts of the deputy, Shane remained master of the north, and after a visit to England, extorted from Elizabeth the recognition of his title. But the treacherous conduct of the English Government roused his resentment and he rebelled. Sir Henry Sydney, who succeeded Sussex as deputy, was an abler general, and decided to put an end to the rule of the O'Neills in Ulster. Shane in vain attacked the Pale. He

was repulsed before Dundalk, and defeated at Kerry (1566). In the following year he was routed by his enemies the O'Donnells, and shortly afterwards was murdered. Shane was not merely a warrior; he had ruled Ulster with success, and throughout his career showed conspicuous ability both as diplomatist and administrator.

During these northern struggles the south had also been the scene of a warfare caused by the rivalries of the Geraldines and Butlers; the former were led by the Earl of Desmond, who was the head of the Munster branch of the Fitzgeralds, and the latter by the Earl of Ormonde. In 1579 Sir James Fitzmaurice, a Geraldine, landed in Kerry under orders from the Pope, but was defeated and killed. In 1580 Lord Desmond rebelled with the aid of some Spanish and Italian troops. Desmond was defeated, and the foreign troops, after sustaining a siege in Smerwick, surrendered and were brutally murdered. Desmond was killed in 1583. The estates of the Geraldines were confiscated, and an attempt was made to colonise Munster with English settlers.

The atrocities perpetrated by the English in Ireland drove the people to desperation, and the double attack on their religion and their nationality forced the Irish into some sort of union against their oppressors. Hugh O'Neill, nephew of Shane, had succeeded to the earldom of Tyrone through the favour of the English. But in 1598 he revolted, and defeated an English force under Sir Henry Bagenal at the battle of the Yellow Ford. The danger was so great that Robert Devereux, Earl of Essex, Elizabeth's favourite, was sent with a large army to Ireland. Essex led a futile campaign against O'Neill in 1599, and in the end had to agree to a humiliating truce. He returned to England to justify his conduct, and was replaced by Lord Mountjoy. Three years of struggle were required to put down the rebellion which had spread to Munster and other parts of Ireland. In 1601 a Spanish force landed in Kinsale Harbour and occupied the town. Mountjoy besieged it, and Hugh O'Neill, who marched to its relief, was completely routed. After bridling Munster with a chain of forts, Mountjoy

turned to attack O'Neill in Ulster, and in 1603 the rebel earl submitted.

17. The Puritans.—At Elizabeth's accession a number of Protestant clergy, who had taken refuge in Switzerland during the Marian persecution, returned to England, eager to spread the Calvinistic doctrines which they had embraced. They soon found that Elizabeth had determined to retain a large number of ceremonies which they were accustomed to regard as idolatrous, and they showed their dislike by refusing to wear surplices and to observe the ceremonies ordered by the Prayer-book. They had powerful supporters in the Council, Parliament, and Convocation, and but for the opposition of the queen, revolutionary changes would have been effected. In 1565 Archbishop Parker issued "Advertisements" ordering the use of the surplice, and those clergy who refused to conform were deprived of their benefices. Hitherto the opposition had turned on ceremonial questions, but about 1570 the Puritans began to call in question the constitution of the Established Church, and to denounce the episcopal system as antichristian. Their leader was Thomas Cartwright, who supported a violent attack known as "An Admonition to Parliament," in which the royal supremacy and episcopacy were declared contrary to Scripture. Parker died in 1575, but his successor, Grindal, sympathised with the Puritans, and when he refused to put down their religious meetings, known as "Prophesyings," the queen, using her authority as Supreme Governor of the Church, suspended him from his functions. In 1583 Whitgift became archbishop, and a vigorous attempt was made to enforce conformity. The High Commission Court had been set up early in the reign, and Whitgift now wielded its power, with much effect, against the Puritans. The attempt of Cartwright and his followers to set up the Presbyterian system of "synods" and "classes" within the Church was put down. Till now separation from the Church had been discountenanced by the Puritan leaders, their aim being to reform it from within; but the more extreme members, the followers of Robert Browne, began to set up conventicles of their own, and

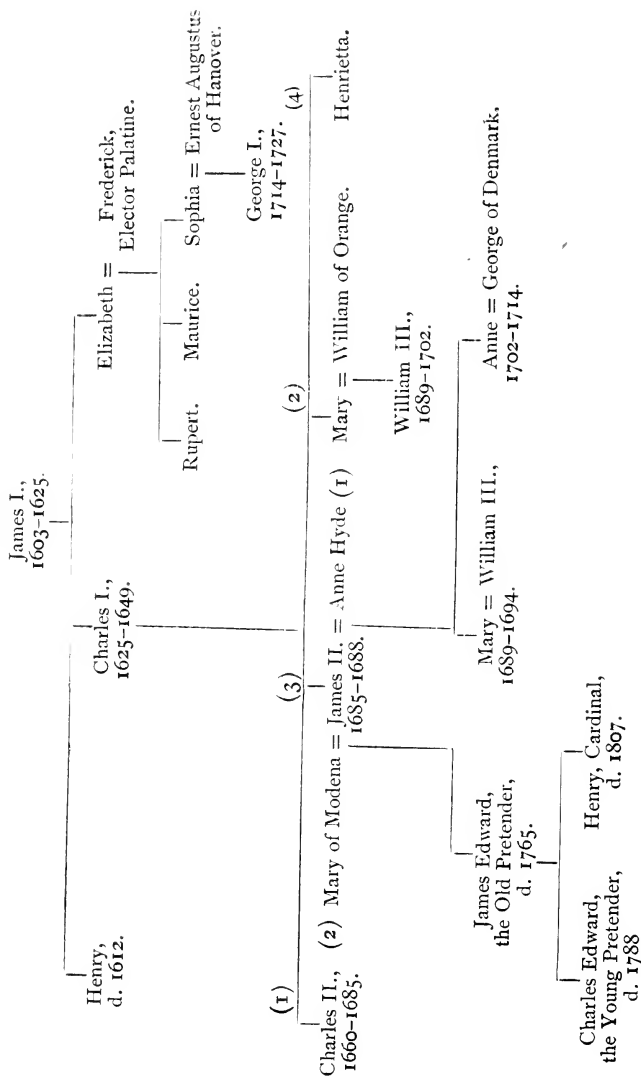
thus to lay the foundation of modern Dissent. Towards the end of the reign the violence of the Puritans, in their attacks on the Church in the "Martin Marprelate Tracts," seems to have provoked a reaction against them, for the Government, which hitherto had been bitterly attacked in Parliament, was able in 1593 to pass a bill punishing frequenters of conventicles with banishment, and even death.

18. The Last Years of Elizabeth.—The end of the queen's long reign was now approaching. Her old advisers, Leicester, Walsingham, and William Cecil, Lord Burghley, were dead. Essex, after his fiasco in Ireland, had been coldly received by the queen, and had attempted a rebellion which brought him to the scaffold (1601). The glories of her reign were over, but Elizabeth, in spite of advancing years, clung to the pageantry and pleasures of her early life. She was not one of those who knew how to grow old with dignity, and she still exacted from her courtiers the homage and flattery, which had seemed appropriate in the days of her youth. But events were passing beyond her control. Elizabeth had no fondness for Parliaments, and in the forty-four years of her reign she only summoned Parliament thirteen times. She moreover frequently interfered to prevent discussions on subjects distasteful to her, such as her marriage, or her ecclesiastical policy. As a rule she carried her point with the Commons. But in 1601 the queen had to submit to a vigorous protest from the Commons, on the subject of certain monopolies she had granted to her favourites for the sale or manufacture of articles of trade, and she had to promise to revoke all such grants as should be found injurious. Early in 1602 Elizabeth's health began to fail, although she struggled bravely against increasing weakness. Her memory failed, and she became subject to attacks of mental excitement, followed by prostration. In January, 1603, she grew rapidly worse, and died in March, signifying, as it was believed, her wish that James VI. of Scotland should be her successor.

CHIEF EVENTS.

	A. D.
Act of Supremacy	1559.
Flight of Mary Queen of Scots to England .	1568.
Rebellion of the North	1569.
Papal Bull of Deposition	1570.
Jesuit mission begins	1580.
Execution of Mary, Queen of Scots	1587.
The Armada	1588.

THE STUART DYNASTY.



CHAPTER XXIX.

JAMES I. (1603-1625).

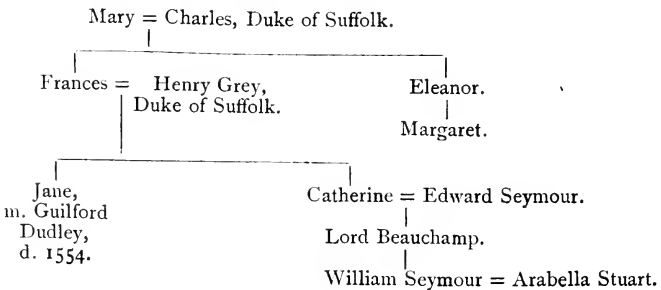
1. Character of the Stuart Period.—With the accession of James I. the opposition to the autocratic action of the Crown, which had been growing in intensity during the later years of Elizabeth, began to show itself unmistakably. The Tudor system, which had brought the nation in safety through a series of crises of both external and internal peril, had now to meet the challenge of Parliamentary claims and Puritan aggression. It was equally impossible that the monarchy, as moulded by the Tudors, and the Church, which Elizabeth had created, should maintain their position without a struggle. The former, by its very success, had rendered some of its despotic powers obsolete; the latter, in its origin a compromise, imposed on a bewildered nation by secular authority, had to face the opposition of the Catholics and Presbyterians, and of other dissentients from the Elizabethan settlement of religion. To meet its opponents, secular and religious, the monarchy armed itself with the doctrine of the Divine Right of Kings, which stamped all opposition to the royal will as sinful. James himself lost no opportunity for insisting that the king, as the source of laws, could not be bound by them, and that as “it is atheism and blasphemy to dispute what God can do . . . so it is presumption and high contempt in a subject to dispute what a king can do, or say that a king can not do this or that.” The Church, the humble handmaid of the State, enforced the claims of its royal master, and throughout the Stuart period, till 1685, the fortunes of Crown and Church rose and fell together. It was only when Churchmen saw themselves

threatened by the policy of James II. that they joined with their non-conforming opponents in tearing up by the roots the doctrine of the Divine Right of Kings. All through the Stuart period, therefore, religion and politics were closely interwoven, and the political struggles of the times had always some bearing on religious interests.

2. The Accession of James I.—Henry VIII., as empowered by Parliament, had settled the succession on his three children, and had ordered that, in the event of their dying without issue, the Crown was to go to the descendants of his younger sister, Mary, Duchess of Suffolk, thus ignoring the children of his elder sister, Margaret, wife of James IV. of Scotland.¹ The Suffolk claim was now represented by William Seymour, grandson of Catherine Grey, the sister of the unfortunate Lady Jane Grey; but the validity of Catherine Grey's marriage was disputed, and Seymour was without supporters. The supposed wishes of Elizabeth, and respect for the claims of primogeniture, which in this case would bring about a pacific union with Scotland, prevailed in upsetting the will of Henry VIII.

James was now in his thirty-seventh year. He was unprepossessing in appearance, and his vanity and fondness for display did not prevent his indulgence in slovenly attire, and an undignified demeanour. His broad Scottish accent was intensified by a tongue too large for his mouth, while his

¹ THE HOUSE OF SUFFOLK.



shambling movements and his habit of leaning on the shoulders of his favourites excited the derision of his courtiers. But with all his defects he was gifted with a wide and varied learning, with a shrewd and caustic humour which prevented him from being the dupe of even those he seemed most to trust, and with a pertinacity of will which enabled him to achieve by devious paths the aims on which he was bent.

James was welcomed by all parties in England. Churchmen realised the support they would gain from his maxim, "No bishop, no king"; Catholics expected at the least toleration from the son of Mary Stuart, and Presbyterians remembered that he had been brought up in the tenets of the Scottish Kirk. All but the first were destined to be disappointed, and the result was a sharp reaction, and widespread discontent.

3. The Main and Bye Plots (1603).—The Court was divided into two parties over the question of peace with Spain. Robert Cecil, Elizabeth's minister, the leader of the peace party, had ingratiated himself with James by his services in facilitating the king's accession. Of a cold and narrow temperament, he favoured a policy of nursing the resources of the nation, which would give scope for his industry and mastery of detail. His opponent, Sir Walter Raleigh, a man of genius and a man of action, upheld the policy of war with Spain, to be waged in the Netherlands and the New World. He was aggrieved when Cecil was reappointed Secretary of State, while he was dismissed from the Captaincy of the Guard, and he associated himself with a cowardly intriguer, Lord Cobham, in a scheme known as the Main Plot. Its aim is not clear; but certainly Cecil's removal from power was planned, and it is possible that among the wilder conspirators the deposition of James in favour of his cousin, Arabella Stuart, was mooted. At the same time a conspiracy, known as the Bye Plot, was in progress amongst a number of Catholics, who were incensed at the failure of James to grant the toleration which they believed he had promised before his accession. Their scheme, which was to seize the king, was mainly due to William Watson, a priest who was opposed to the Jesuits and the Spanish party

amongst the Catholics. Cobham's brother, George Brooke, was the connecting link between the two plots. The Bye Plot was revealed to the Jesuit Provincial, Gerard, who, after urging the conspirators to desist, warned the Government. Cecil already had information through another source, and the complicity of Brooke in both plots led to the unravelling of the Main Plot, and to the arrest of all the conspirators. Two priests, Watson and Clarke, together with Brooke, were executed. Cobham tried to save himself by lying accusations against Raleigh, but in the end both were condemned, although immediately reprieved. Raleigh remained in the Tower, where he occupied himself in writing his "History of the World."

4. The Hampton Court Conference (1604).—On his way south from Scotland, in 1603, James had received the Millenary Petition, a document supposed to be signed by a thousand Puritans, in which the old objections to religious ceremonies were re-stated. A conference between the two parties in the Church was held at Hampton Court in the presence of the king. The Puritan representatives, four in number, were confronted with eighteen opponents, of whom nine were bishops; while the king seems to have used the occasion as an opportunity for the display of his theological attainments. No concessions of importance were held out to the Puritan party, and at their mention of the word Presbytery, James intervened with the violent retort, "If you aim at a Scotch presbytery, it agreeth as well with monarchy as God and the devil." James closed the meeting, and as he left the room, threatened that if the Puritans refused to conform he would "harry them out of the land, or else do worse." Throughout the conference the king's controversial powers were enlisted on the side of the bishops, and for this he was repaid by the gross adulation of his supporters. "Undoubtedly," exclaimed Archbishop Whitgift, "your Majesty speaks by the special assistance of God's spirit." Henceforward, whatever ideas of toleration James may have had before his accession to the English throne, the maxim, "No bishop, no king," became the guiding principle of his conduct.

The Stuart monarchy had allied itself definitely with the Church of England, an alliance fraught with momentous consequences.

5. The Gunpowder Plot (1605).—It was believed amongst Catholics that James, before his accession, had pledged himself to grant toleration, and at first he seemed anxious to avoid persecution. He had indirectly opened negotiations with Clement VIII., and the Pope, rightly or wrongly, had come to the conclusion that there were valid grounds for expecting that James I. would follow the example of Henry IV. of France, and submit to the Catholic Church. The Pope had refused to excommunicate James, and had ordered English Catholics to support loyally the new Government. But the practical suspension of the penal laws led to a great increase in the number of Catholics, and James, becoming alarmed, banished all priests from London and put in force the laws against Recusants. Meanwhile, Robert Catesby, a Warwickshire gentleman, had formed a plot to blow up the Houses of Parliament when the king was present at the beginning of the session, and to proclaim the accession of the king's daughter, Elizabeth, who was to be educated as a Catholic. The plot was joined by Thomas Percy, Thomas Winter, and Guy Fawkes, and subsequently by Tresham, Digby, and Rokewood, and a few others. A house was hired next to the House of Lords, and the conspirators began to dig a mine. Finding, however, that a coal cellar under the House of Lords was to be let, they abandoned the mine, and managed to store a large quantity of gunpowder in barrels in the cellar. Tresham, one of the conspirators, fearing for the safety of his brother-in-law, Lord Monteagle, warned him in a letter to be absent at the opening of Parliament. Monteagle passed the letter on to Cecil, who, apparently, had already some clue to the plot, and the result was that the cellar was searched, and Guy Fawkes was arrested. Catesby and his friends fled to Holbeche in Staffordshire, but were surrounded by the forces summoned by the Sheriff of Worcestershire. Catesby and Percy were killed, and the rest were captured. Eight of the conspirators were

tried and executed. The Government was most anxious to show that some of the priests, and above all, the Jesuits, had been privy to the plot. Father Garnet, the provincial of the Jesuits, was therefore ordered to be arrested. At his trial Garnet admitted that he had gained from Catesby a general knowledge of "some stirring, seeing that the king kept not his promise," and that he had expressed his disapproval. Subsequently the Jesuit, Greenway, in confession, had given him a full account of the conspiracy, the details of which Greenway had learnt from his penitent Bates, one of the conspirators, who had been executed. It was, of course, impossible for Garnet to make use of knowledge thus acquired, but he had hoped that Catesby would give him an opportunity before the plot was carried out for remonstrating against the whole project. Garnet was condemned and executed. Although there was no evidence to show that the general body of English Catholics was implicated in the plot, the recusancy laws were made more stringent, and the persecution of Catholics became hotter than before.

6. James and Parliament.—It was inevitable that James, with his high ideas of the prerogative, should come into collision with Parliament, and his relations with the Commons were, throughout the reign, marked by a series of acrimonious wrangles. The king constantly insisted that their privileges were dependent on his grace and favour. When Parliament opposed the royal scheme for a closer union with Scotland, James obtained from the judges, in a suit known as "Calvin's Case," a decision that the "Postnati," that is, Scots born after his accession to the English throne, were legally naturalised in England. As he was hampered by the smallness of the supplies granted by Parliament, he increased the customs. Bates, a Levant merchant, in 1606 refused to pay the imposition of five shillings per hundredweight on currants, and the case was tried in the Exchequer Court. The case for the Crown was a strong one, as the right of the Crown to regulate trade had been recognised by Parliament in 1534. But the judges, in deciding for the Crown, went far beyond the needs of the case

in their assertion of the powers of the prerogative, and Cecil, who had been created Earl of Salisbury and treasurer, was able to issue, in 1608, a Book of Rates, increasing the customs in every direction. In 1610 James, in a scheme called the Great Contract, offered to sell his feudal rights for £200,000 a year. The Commons were at first willing to purchase the abolition of these vexatious imposts, but ultimately backed out of the negotiations, and in 1611 the Parliament, which had been in existence since 1604, was dissolved. In 1614 the "Addled Parliament" was summoned by James in reliance on the promise of some prominent members of the Commons, that if he would make concessions they would undertake to manage the House. The Commons were angry at the conduct of the "Undertakers," as they were called, and after a stormy session of two months, Parliament was dissolved.

7. The Royal Favourites.—On the death of Robert Cecil, Earl of Salisbury (1612), James passed under the influence of Robert Carr, a handsome young Scot, whom he made Viscount Rochester. In 1613 Carr was married to the Countess of Essex, whose divorce from her husband, the young Earl of Essex, was procured through the influence of the king, who interfered in the legal proceedings in a most scandalous manner. In honour of his marriage Carr was raised to the Earldom of Somerset. But to attain their ends Carr had been obliged to get rid of Sir Thomas Overbury, whose evidence might have endangered the divorce proceedings. Overbury was imprisoned in the Tower and poisoned by order of Lady Essex. Two years later the crime became known, and both Somerset and his wife were found guilty and imprisoned. By this time James had found another favourite in George Villiers, a handsome young courtier, the son of a Leicestershire squire, to whom he made large grants of land. Titles were showered on Villiers, till, in 1623, he was created Duke of Buckingham, and appointed Lord High Admiral. Buckingham was not without good qualities, but the rapid rise turned his head and made him arrogant in conduct and overconfident in his abilities as a statesman.

8. The Execution of Raleigh (1618).—In 1604 James had concluded the Treaty of London, by which peace was made with Philip III. of Spain. Cecil, who from the first had been in favour of peace, and had negotiated the treaty, accepted a Spanish pension, and from time to time secretly furnished the Spanish Government with information. After Cecil's death Carr had favoured the Spanish alliance, and the anti-Spanish party had therefore supported George Villiers against him. But Villiers, when he came into power, upheld the project of a marriage between Prince Charles and the Infanta Maria. Nevertheless, in spite of the friendly policy towards Spain, Sir Walter Raleigh was released from the Tower, and allowed to sail for the Orinoco in Guiana in search of gold, on giving a promise that he would not attack Spanish property. As Spain claimed Guiana the pledge was clearly impossible to keep, and Raleigh found himself drawn into a conflict with the Spaniards. The expedition was a miserable failure, and on his return to Plymouth Raleigh was arrested. James allowed him to be executed under the charge of treason, for which he had been sentenced to death in 1603. Public indignation justly ascribed Raleigh's death to the king's subservience to Spain.

9. The Spanish Match and the Parliament of 1621.—In 1618 the long delayed struggle for supremacy between Catholics and Protestants in Germany broke out, and the Thirty Years' War began in 1619 with the seizure of the kingdom of Bohemia by Frederick, the Elector Palatine. Bohemia belonged to the Emperor Ferdinand II., but the Protestant Bohemians revolted and elected Frederick. Frederick had married Elizabeth, daughter of James, and the king saw with dismay the union of the Austrian and Spanish branches of the House of Hapsburg against his son-in-law. The Elector was defeated at the battle of the White Mountain in 1620, and was driven from Bohemia. Philip III. of Spain at once came to the help of Ferdinand, and the Palatinate was invaded by Spanish troops under Spinola, while Frederick was placed under the ban of the Empire (1621). James had never

approved of Frederick's Bohemian adventure, but when his son-in-law was attacked in the Palatinate, he allowed English volunteers to go to the rescue, and prepared to subsidise Frederick's allies.

In 1621 Parliament was summoned to provide funds. But the Commons, although eager to come to the help of Frederick, would not grant supplies until war was certain to be declared. Meanwhile they proceeded to deal with the old abuse, the grant of monopolies. Mitchell and Mompesson, the holders of certain monopolies, were attacked and punished. The Commons then sent up to the Lords complaints against Lord Chancellor Bacon. He was accused of receiving bribes, and was deprived of his office, fined, and imprisoned. James then informed the Commons that he had sent Lord Digby to Vienna to induce the emperor not to deprive Frederick of his possessions, and the House declared itself ready to defend the Palatinate. Digby's mission, however, failed, and when James asked for financial help, the Commons petitioned that Prince Charles should marry a Protestant. James ordered them not to discuss high "mysteries of State," whereupon the Commons drew up a protest insisting on their right to discuss all matters of State, and asserting their privilege of freedom of speech. James tore the protest from the journals of the House and dissolved Parliament.

10. The Journey of Prince Charles to Madrid (1623).

—In 1622 Frederick was expelled from the Palatinate, and the primary object of James's diplomacy was now to procure the Elector's restoration by means of an alliance with Spain. In 1623 Prince Charles and Buckingham set out on a romantic journey to Madrid. Their arrival caused considerable embarrassment to the Spanish Government, which had no intention of helping the Elector Palatine, and the Infanta showed a strong dislike to her union with a heretic. The Spanish Court demanded impossible conditions, and Charles and Buckingham returned to England, eager for war with Spain. The breaking off of the Spanish match was very popular in England, and Charles, on his return to England, was welcomed with every

sign of national satisfaction. Negotiations were at once opened with the French Court for a marriage between Charles and Henrietta Maria, sister of Louis XIII. As in the case of the Spanish marriage, a papal dispensation had to be obtained, and this would not be granted unless a promise of toleration for English Catholics was inserted in the marriage treaty. To this James knew that Parliament would never consent. Charles, in fact, declared on oath, that if he married a Catholic the marriage should be "no advantage to the recusants at home." Ultimately, after long negotiations between the English Government and Richelieu, it was agreed that Charles, in spite of his promise to Parliament, should sign a private engagement, promising, on the faith and word of a prince, that his Catholic subjects should enjoy freedom of worship (1624).

II. The Parliament of 1624.—During these negotiations, James summoned the last Parliament of his reign. In his speech at the opening of Parliament, the king definitely abandoned the view he had insisted on in 1621, that Parliament should not interfere in foreign affairs, for he now invited its advice on his relations with Spain. The popularity of a war with Spain was undoubted, but whereas James and Buckingham wished to come to the help of the Elector Palatine in Germany, the Commons were eager for striking a blow at Spain in the Indies and on the high seas. The Commons, therefore, in granting the king supplies, appointed treasurers to spend the money on four specified objects, viz. : the defence of the realm, the security of Ireland, the navy, and the assistance of the Dutch and other allies. A force of 12,000 was landed in Holland to serve under the German adventurer, Mansfeld, but the expedition was mismanaged, and three-fourths of the men died of disease and exposure. The king's control of affairs had never been efficient, and it had grown weaker as his health declined. On March 27, 1625, after a brief illness, his constitution, undermined by intemperate habits, gave way, and he died, leaving a heritage of trouble to his son.

CHIEF EVENTS.

	A. D.
Gunpowder Plot	1605.
Death of Robert Cecil	1612.
Rise of Buckingham	1616.
War with Spain	1624.

CHAPTER XXX.

CHARLES I. (1625-1649).

(1) THE STRUGGLE FOR POLITICAL SUPREMACY BETWEEN KING AND PARLIAMENT (1625-1642).

1. Policy and Character of Charles I.—Circumstances had combined under James I. to prevent any definite decision of the great constitutional questions at issue between the monarchy and Parliament. On the one hand, James, partly from indolence and partly from a shrewd appreciation of the forces threatening the monarchy, had avoided pushing matters to extremes. And, on the other hand, Parliament had not yet shaken off the habits of deference in which it had been trained under the Tudors. But in the person of Charles I. the claims of Divine Right and of a sovereignty independent of the will of the nation found an exponent who might be crushed, but would never be convinced. Yet there was much to be said for the views which Charles and his advisers, Strafford and Laud, upheld. The constitutional position of the monarchy, as the Tudors had understood it, was in possession of the field, and the Stuarts were therefore, as it seemed to them, trustees under God for the inheritance they had received. It was true that under the Lancastrian kings Parliament had played a larger part in directing affairs, but if a system was to be judged by its results, the Lancastrian system stood condemned by the anarchy of the fifteenth century. Even on the narrow ground of legal precedent, to which the Parliamentarians appealed, the Stuart monarchy had, to say the least, not the worst of the argument. But the truth is

that the quarrel between king and Parliament soon passed out of the sphere of legal discussion. Altered circumstances had made the Tudor system obsolete, and national development could only, as things were, find its expression in Parliament. Charles had many virtues and accomplishments, but he was incapable of looking at problems from any standpoint other than his own, and even when compelled to yield, he did so with reservations, which laid him open to the charge of pursuing a tortuous course, and made it impossible for him to acquiesce honestly in any settlement which limited his prerogative.

2. The Parliaments of 1625 and 1626.—A large sum of money was required for the war with Spain and for the recovery of the Palatinate, but the Commons only voted £140,000, and proposed to grant the king tonnage and poundage for one year, instead of for life, as had been the custom in the preceding reigns. They refused to vote more money, and Buckingham was attacked as incompetent to direct the national policy. Moreover the favour shown to Catholics since the king's recent marriage to Henrietta Maria roused suspicions, and Charles, in defiance of his written promise to Louis XIII., had to put into force the penal laws. To screen Buckingham the king dissolved Parliament.

In the autumn of 1625 an expedition under Sir Edward Cecil was sent to attack Cadiz, but it proved a costly failure, and Buckingham was credited with its mismanagement. Meanwhile the duke went to the Hague to negotiate the consolidation of a great anti-Spanish confederacy, of which Christian of Denmark was to be the head. Want of money to subsidise the allies compelled Buckingham to return, and Parliament was summoned. Charles's second Parliament, however, proved more refractory than the first, and, led by Sir John Eliot, the Commons impeached Buckingham. They were specially incensed at Buckingham's conduct in lending English ships to Louis XIII. to be used against the Huguenots of Rochelle. Charles, after quarrelling on questions of privilege with both Houses, dissolved Parliament.

3. The Breach with France (1627).—The Huguenots, as a result of the wars of religion, had gained a position in France which made them practically an independent power within the State, and it was Richelieu's policy to deprive them of this while leaving them the freedom of worship granted by the Edict of Nantes. Having done this, he was prepared to interfere in Germany on behalf of the Protestants against the Austro-Spanish House of Hapsburg. But to crush the Huguenots was to rouse the hostility of England, and Charles felt bound to come to their aid when Rochelle was threatened. In 1627 war broke out, and a fleet, under the command of Buckingham, sailed for the island of Ré, but failed to capture the chief fortress. French troops were landed, and the English were driven to take refuge in their ships. Buckingham returned to England, having lost over 3500 men.

4. The Petition of Right (1628).—Charles had raised money for the French war by levying a forced loan, and had imprisoned those who refused to pay. Darnel and four other knights, who were sent to gaol, sued for a writ of Habeas Corpus, but the judges declined to release them. When, therefore, Charles's third Parliament met in 1628, Sir Edward Coke brought forward the Petition of Right. By this, forced loans and taxes without the consent of Parliament were declared illegal, as were also the practices of imprisoning without any crime being alleged, and of punishing refractory districts by billeting soldiers on them and the infliction of penalties by martial law. Charles tried to evade giving his assent, but had to yield. Parliament adjourned, and during the recess Buckingham was assassinated at Portsmouth. In spite of his death, a second expedition was sent to relieve Rochelle, but its commander, Lord Lindsey, could do nothing, and Rochelle, left to its fate, surrendered.

When Parliament reassembled in 1629, the Commons quarrelled with Charles because a member's goods had been seized for his refusal to pay the illegal tonnage and poundage. Charles twice ordered the House to adjourn.

On the second occasion the Commons refused, and the Speaker, Finch, was held in the chair while three resolutions, proposed by Eliot, were passed. These denounced as betrayers of the Commonwealth all who counselled or paid illegal taxation, and all who introduced innovations in religion. Parliament was at once dissolved, and Charles announced to the nation his intention to govern for the present without Parliament, on account of the late abuses. Eliot, Holles, Valentine, and six other members were imprisoned. Eliot had moved the three resolutions, and Holles and Valentine had held the Speaker in the chair. They were accused of riotous and seditious conduct, but refused to plead, claiming privilege of Parliament. They were heavily fined, and for declining to pay were sent to prison. Eliot died in the Tower.

5. Sir Thomas Wentworth.—During the last Parliament the king had secured the support of one of his former opponents, Sir Thomas Wentworth. The latter had been an enemy of Buckingham, and had been one of the leaders of the Opposition at the beginning of the Parliament of 1628. But Buckingham's death, and probably the belief that the Commons were making claims which would destroy the constitution, had caused him to withdraw from the popular ranks and to take service with the king. He was created Baron Wentworth and made President of the Council of the North and a member of the Privy Council. If strength of character and commanding abilities could have saved the Stuart monarchy, Wentworth might have achieved the task ; but success required qualities in the king, which Charles did not possess. Charles never gave to Wentworth his entire confidence, and in the end sacrificed the great minister whose policy he had done so much to weaken.

6. Archbishop Laud.—The beginning of the seventeenth century had seen a reaction amongst the Continental Protestants against Calvinism, and the movement was led by Arminius, a Dutch pastor. Calvinism was the current teaching of the Elizabethan Church, and James I. had learnt the same doctrines in Scotland. At the suggestion, therefore, of the

English king, a synod was held at Dort to deal with Arminianism. An English bishop, with other English divines, attended, and accepted the decrees of the synod upholding Calvinism. But the reaction against Calvinism continued to spread, and in England it found learned supporters in Andrewes, Cosin, and Laud. Under Charles I. the Arminian or High Church doctrines became the religion of the Court. Its defenders were at the same time staunch upholders of the Divine Right of Kings, and this naturally made them the allies of the Government. But in proportion, as the High Church party drew away from Calvinism, they moved nearer to Catholic doctrines and practices, and thus roused the fierce opposition of the Puritans. Theirs were the "innovations" against which Parliament, in 1629, had protested, and, therefore, both on religious and political grounds, they came into conflict with the aims of Parliament. Neither party, High Church or Puritan, was in favour of toleration; the question was which side should be able to enforce its views as the teaching of the Established Church.

For the moment, under the guidance of Laud, Bishop of London, the High Church party was supreme, and when Laud, in 1633, became Archbishop of Canterbury, he made his influence strongly felt against the Puritans. Wielding the powers of High Commission, and backed by the Star Chamber, Laud insisted on rigid uniformity of worship, and through his efforts slovenliness and irreverence were put down. The Communion tables were everywhere removed from the body of the churches and set altar-wise against the east end of the church. These changes were bitterly resented, and even moderate men joined with the Puritans in denouncing Laud's supposed leanings to "Popery." The conversion of some leading men to Catholicism seemed to the terrified Puritans a proof that the Reformation was being undone. Virulent attacks were made on Laud's policy, and the archbishop retaliated by summoning his opponents before the Star Chamber. Prynne, Burton, and Bastwick were heavily fined and condemned to be imprisoned for life (1637).

7. Wentworth in Ireland (1633-1639).—In 1633 Wentworth was made Lord Deputy of Ireland, and at once set himself to carry out the system of strong government, which he called the policy of "Thorough," the counterpart of Laud's policy in England. In 1607 Elizabeth's old antagonist O'Neill, Earl of Tyrone, had fled abroad, and his estates were confiscated. Ulster was planted with English and Scottish settlers, and the native Irish were driven from their holdings. Wentworth determined to make Ireland a model of orderly government. The Castle Court acted like the English Star Chamber; religious uniformity was enforced against the Protestants, while the Catholic worship was connived at. Agriculture was encouraged, and the great linen industry of the north was started. In spite of Charles's fears, Wentworth summoned the Irish Parliament, and wrung from it large grants of money. "The king," Wentworth wrote, "is now as absolute here as any prince in the world can be, and may be still, if not spoiled on the other side." In 1639 he was summoned to England by Charles, and created Earl of Strafford. The "Rule of Thorough" in England was tottering to its fall, and Charles had need of his strongest supporter.

8. Ship Money (1637).—Charles had throughout the unparliamentary period the greatest difficulty in raising money, and he had to resort to all kinds of expedients, such as increased impositions, monopolies, and fines for breach of the forest rights of the Crown. These proving insufficient, writs were issued in 1634 ordering the sea ports to furnish ships or pay a composition. This was soon extended to inland districts, and Hampden, a Buckinghamshire squire, refused to pay. The case was tried before twelve judges, and seven declared against Hampden.

9. Scottish Troubles (1637-1639).—In 1592 the Presbyterian system had been established in Scotland, but James soon found that he had consented to the existence of a religious organisation antagonistic to the authority of the Crown. He therefore began to retrace his steps, and in 1600 succeeded in imposing bishops on the Scottish Kirks, three of

whom in 1610 went to England to receive consecration from the English bishops. James was, in fact, determined to undo partly the work of Knox and his followers, and to re-model the Kirk on the lines of the English Church, and this policy was continued with increasing vigour by Charles. Hitherto there had been little interference with the forms of worship of the Kirk, but in 1637, under the influence of Laud, the Scottish bishops issued a Prayer-book like that used in England, but in details emphasising more strongly the anti-Puritan position. The result was a riot at St. Giles's Church in Edinburgh, when the new service book was first used, and a general resistance throughout Scotland. Four committees, called "The Tables," were elected to represent the nobles, gentry, clergy, and burgesses, and this organisation usurped the functions of the Government. In 1638 the National Covenant was drawn up and signed by all classes. In spite of the offers of Charles to revoke the Prayer-book, and limit the power of the bishops, the general assembly at Glasgow abolished episcopacy and re-established Presbyterianism. Charles thereupon resorted to force, and in 1639, by what is known as "The First Bishops' War," tried to crush Scottish opposition. But when his army reached Berwick he found himself confronted by a strong Scottish force, posted at Dunse Law under Alexander Leslie. Having no money to pay his troops, the king had to sign the Treaty of Berwick, by which the English army was to withdraw, and a free Parliament and assembly of Scotland were to be summoned.

10. The Breakdown of the Rule of "Thorough" (1640).—Acting on Strafford's advice, Charles summoned an English Parliament. Pym and Hampden organised the Opposition, and the result was that, as soon as Parliament met, the Commons demanded redress of grievances before voting supplies. Charles offered to sell his ship-money rights for a million pounds, but negotiations broke down and Parliament was dissolved. It had sat for three weeks, and was in consequence known as the "Short Parliament." Meanwhile the Scottish Parliament had again decreed the abolition of

episcopacy, and Charles determined on a second attempt at coercion. The "Second Bishops' War" was even more futile than the first. The English soldiers sympathised with the Scots, and the latter, crossing the Tweed, easily routed the royal forces at Newburn, near Newcastle. Charles had to agree to the Treaty of Ripon, by which he guaranteed to the Scots £850 a day to pay their troops, and left Northumberland and Durham in their hands as security. As a last resort Charles summoned a great Council of peers to York, but it only re-echoed the demand for a Parliament. Writs for the elections were therefore issued.

II. First Session of the Long Parliament (1640-1641).

—The position of the English Parliament was unprecedented, for the presence of the Scots afforded a guarantee against a hasty dissolution. The aims of the party, led by Pym and Hampden, were to restore what they considered to be the true balance of power between king and Parliament. To effect this, it was necessary to get rid of the agents of the king, Strafford, Laud, and others, who had upheld the Stuart system, and to abolish the despotic agencies, the Star Chamber and the High Commission, on which that system relied. Arrangements must also be made to prevent the suspension of Parliament and to limit the power of the bishops.

As soon as Parliament met, Pym moved the impeachment of Strafford and Laud, and they were sent to the Tower. In 1641 the trial of Strafford began in Westminster Hall. The chief charges were drawn from Strafford's government in Ireland, but, even admitting their arbitrary character, it was clear that they could not be construed as treason as defined by statute under Edward III. Treason was an offence against the king, and English law was silent on the subject of treason against the nation. The Commons, therefore, brought forward some notes of a speech of Strafford in the Privy Council, in which he had said, "You have an army in Ireland which you may employ here to reduce this kingdom." The discussion was admittedly about Scotland, but the Commons insisted that "this kingdom" meant England. Seeing, however,

that the Lords would not convict, the Commons dropped the impeachment and passed a bill of attainder against Strafford. It was accepted by the Lords, and Charles, under threats of mob violence against the queen, gave his assent. Before the opening of Parliament he had guaranteed Strafford's safety. "Put not your trust in princes," was the comment wrung from Strafford by the cowardice of his royal master. On May 12 he was beheaded.

The first session of the Long Parliament was also made memorable by a series of Acts sweeping away the system of government, which in substance had been in force since the accession of the Tudors. The Triennial Act (1641) ordered that Parliament should meet every three years, and provided machinery for its summons in case the king neglected to call it together. Another Act ordered that the existing Parliament should not be dissolved without its consent, a measure which made it independent of both king and nation. The Star Chamber, the High Commission, and the Council of the North, were abolished. Tonnage and poundage and impositions, without the consent of Parliament, were declared illegal. Ship money was disallowed, and the decision of the judges in the Hampden Case was reversed. Fines for distraint of knight-hood were prohibited, and an Act was passed for the limitation of the forests. With these sweeping measures accomplished, Parliament adjourned.

12. The Royalist Reaction.—In the summer of 1641 Charles went to Scotland, hoping to win over the Scots to his side by large concessions. During his absence a reaction in his favour took place in England. Hitherto the king had found few supporters in the Commons, but the threatening aspect of the religious question, combined with the feeling that the king had made every concession which could be justly demanded, won over to his side a considerable body of moderate men. Presbyterianism had little hold on the English people, and the proposal, brought forward with the support of Pym and Hampden, to abolish episcopacy "root and branch," roused the alarm of a large party led by Hyde, Falkland, and

Culpepper, who were opposed to further changes. The tension was increased by rumours of army plots against Parliament, and by an obscure transaction in Scotland, the "Incident," which was an attempt to arrest the Scottish Presbyterian leaders. Charles in vain repudiated all complicity in it. About the same time news came of a rebellion in Ireland. Strafford had begun the "plantation" of Connaught, and after his departure the plan was pushed on, together with schemes for the persecution of the Catholics. The native Irish, after attempting to seize Dublin, attacked the Ulster Protestants and killed several thousands. Charles was accused of being responsible for the outbreak through his intrigues with the Irish.

When Parliament reassembled Pym brought forward the Grand Remonstrance. This recapitulated the grievances of the reign and demanded the appointment of ministers who had the confidence of Parliament and a Parliamentary reform of religion. The demands were opposed by Hyde and Falkland, and the Remonstrance was only carried by a majority of eleven. It was presented to the king on his return from Scotland, and he was now definitely joined by Hyde and other members who were opposed to Pym.

13. The Rupture between King and Parliament (1642).—Backed as he now was by a large party in both Houses, Charles seemed again able to control events. But he threw away the advantages of his position by ordering the impeachment of Pym, Hampden, Haselrigg, Holles, Strode, and Lord Kimbolton. They were accused of having invited the Scots to invade England in 1640. Fearing that the Commons would not surrender the accused, Charles went down in person to the House to arrest the five members. But he found that they had taken refuge in the city, and his violent action only increased the bitter feeling against him. Charles left London, not to return till seven years later as a prisoner to meet his trial.

Negotiations still continued, and in February, 1642, the king gave his assent to the last two bills of his reign. By the Clerical Disabilities Act the bishops were removed from the

House of Lords, and by the Impressment Act troops were ordered to be raised to serve in Ireland. This Act brought the militia question into prominence. Parliament felt that the forces thus levied might be used against it, and demanded the appointment of the Lords Lieutenant who controlled the militia. Charles refused, and Parliament assumed the right by an ordinance of the two Houses. On August 22, 1642, the king set up his standard at Nottingham.

CHIEF EVENTS.

	A. D.
Petition of Right	1628.
Death of Buckingham	1628.
The Rule of Thorough	1629-1640.
Ship-money case	1637.
Scottish Rebellion	1639.
Short Parliament	1640.
Execution of Strafford	1641.
Grand Remonstrance	1641.

CHAPTER XXXI.

CHARLES I. (1625-1649).

(2) THE CIVIL WAR (1642-1649).

1. The Campaign of 1642.—The strength of the king's party lay in the north and west, and that of Parliament in south-eastern districts, but there was no sharp dividing line, and the predominance of parties had to be settled by fighting in the different counties. The king had on his side the majority of the nobility and country squires, and all Churchmen who feared the narrow Presbyterianism which Parliament aimed at establishing. The Catholics loyally supported the king. On the other side the yeomanry, especially in the eastern counties, were for Parliament, and London led the great towns in upholding the Parliamentary cause. The navy also went over to the same side. The royal forces were commanded by the Earl of Lindsey, and the Parliamentary troops by the Earl of Essex.

In September, Charles, at the head of an army, drawn largely from Wales, Cornwall and the north, advanced from Shrewsbury, southwards towards London. At Edgehill, in Warwickshire, he was overtaken by Essex, and the first battle was fought. The struggle was indecisive. Prince Rupert, the son of the Elector Palatine, who commanded the horse, easily routed the horsemen opposed to him and pursued them from the field, but the royalist infantry, after being hotly engaged, fell back. Night put an end to the fight, and Essex withdrew towards Warwick. Charles therefore continued his march towards London, but on reaching Brentford, in Middlesex, found the London train-bands entrenched at Turnham Green.

ENGLAND & WALES

during the Civil Wars.

English Miles
 0 10 20 30 40 50 60 70 80



Fearing to attack them, Charles retreated on Oxford. In other directions there were proofs that the king's party was stronger than had been expected. In Yorkshire Lord Fairfax, on behalf of Parliament, could not resist the royalist Earl of Newcastle, and in the west Sir Ralph Hopton was supreme in Cornwall and Devon. In the eastern counties, on the other hand, an association was formed, of which Oliver Cromwell was the guiding spirit, to keep the war from extending eastwards, and to conquer Lincolnshire.

2. The Campaign of 1643.—This year was disastrous for Parliament in nearly every direction. The Earl of Newcastle defeated Lord Fairfax and his son Sir Thomas Fairfax at Adwalton Moor and besieged Hull. In the west Hopton cleared the enemy out of Cornwall by a victory at Stratton, and, marching eastward, overthrew Sir William Waller on Lansdown, near Bath. A week later Waller was disastrously defeated at Roundway Down, near Devizes. Prince Rupert stormed Bristol, and practically the whole of the west, except Plymouth and Gloucester, was in royalist hands.

The king's plan had been for his three main armies to converge on London from the north, west, and centre, and finish the war at a blow. But he was impeded by the dislike of his northern and western troops to leave their districts, and he therefore laid siege to Gloucester. Essex at once marched to its relief, and Charles raised the siege and posted his army at Newbury, in Berkshire, to cut off Essex from retiring on London. A fierce battle was fought, but Essex held his own, and during the night Charles retreated to Oxford, thus allowing Essex to pursue his march unmolested. In the east the Associated Counties scored a victory at Winceby through the skill of Colonel Cromwell, who had raised a well disciplined body of cavalry.

3. The Campaign of 1644.—It was clear that neither king nor Parliament was strong enough to strike a decisive blow, and during the autumn of 1643 both sides appealed for help from outside. The king summoned the Irish to his aid, while Parliament relied on the Scots. Pym's last act before

his death was to negotiate an agreement known as the Solemn League and Covenant, by which the Scots agreed to come to the aid of Parliament, and the latter pledged itself to put down "popery and prelacy," and to establish a form of Church government in the three kingdoms as nearly uniform as possible. In Ireland the Catholics had appointed a Supreme Council to rule the revolted districts, and they offered their support to Charles in return for concessions. The king agreed to a truce which liberated his forces in Ireland for service against the English Parliament. By the terms of the truce, known as the "Cessation," the whole of Ireland, except the coast-line from Belfast to Dublin and the district round Cork, was left in the hands of the Confederated Catholics; in return the Supreme Council granted £30,000 to be spent on the regiments to be transported to England. Early in 1644 the English regiments, which had been released from service in Ireland, landed in Wales and advanced into Cheshire. They were met at Nantwich by a Parliamentary force under Sir Thomas Fairfax, and were completely routed. The only effect of the king's Irish schemes was to embitter public opinion against him.

On January 19, 1644, the Scots had crossed the Tweed under the command of Leslie, Earl of Leven, and a month later a committee of both kingdoms, consisting of representatives of the English and Scottish Parliaments, was appointed to superintend military operations. Leslie and Fairfax effected a junction and besieged Newcastle's army in York. Prince Rupert, with a large force of cavalry, was detached from the army in the Midlands to relieve the city. He found that the enemy had been reinforced by the arrival of the army of the Eastern Association under Lord Manchester and Cromwell. As Rupert advanced the English and Scottish forces fell back on Marston Moor. Here one of the great decisive battles of the Civil War was fought on July 2. The royalist left drove the forces under Fairfax from the field, but on the right, after a fierce struggle, Cromwell's horsemen routed the cavalry under Rupert, and then closed on the royalist centre. The

royal army was scattered, Rupert withdrew with 5000 men, and York surrendered. The Marquis of Newcastle, disgusted by Rupert's interference, retired to Holland. The fruit of the victory of Marston Moor was the conquest of the north.

In the rest of England Parliament met with a series of disasters. Waller had gained a success over Hopton at Cheriton, and Essex, led a large army into the west, hoping to strike a decisive blow. But Waller was checked by Charles at Cropredy Bridge, and his army melted away. This enabled Charles to pursue Essex, who retreated into Cornwall, but was surrounded at Lostwithiel. Essex escaped in an open boat, and his infantry surrendered. To remedy this disaster, Parliament summoned Manchester and the army of the Eastern Association to defend London. Manchester proved an ineffective general, and the second battle of Newbury was indecisive. Charles retreated to Oxford.

4. The Self-denying Ordinance (1645).—During the winter Parliament had attempted negotiations with the king at Uxbridge, but these failed because Parliament demanded the control of the militia, the acceptance of the Covenant by the king, and penalties on the king's supporters. Parliament, however, held one of the king's greatest supporters, Archbishop Laud, who had remained in prison since 1641. He was now condemned, and was executed on Tower Hill. His death afforded a proof of the fierce intolerance by which the dominant Presbyterian party was animated. The Presbyterians, who controlled Parliament, were, however, gradually losing ground, and found themselves threatened by the rise of a new religious party, the Independents. These objected to the Presbyterian policy of controlling religion by Parliament, and were in favour of the independence of each individual congregation, and of a certain amount of toleration. The Independents comprised men of widely different views, but they had a strong party in the army, and could rely on the support of Cromwell, who was now rapidly making himself indispensable.

Cromwell had from the first seen that religious enthusiasm could alone inspire in the troops of Parliament a fervour equal

to the chivalry and loyalty of the Cavaliers. He had proved himself a great cavalry leader in the field, and he resented the half-hearted manner in which Essex and Manchester conducted operations. If the war was to be ended it must be fought out by a standing army, and not by one in which soldiers melted away after each campaign to follow their civil pursuits. To carry out his plans, Cromwell supported two measures, the Self-denying Ordinance and the Remodelling of the Army. The former ordered the members of either House who held any military or civil appointment to resign, on the understanding that they might be reappointed. This shelved Manchester, Essex, and Waller. The latter created a permanent army, the "New Model," under Sir Thomas Fairfax. Cromwell, who had resigned with the other leaders, was appointed lieutenant-general, with the command of the cavalry. The troops, many of whom were veterans, received regular pay and were carefully drilled. The officers, as a rule, were Independents, but Cromwell was not the man to look too closely into the religious beliefs of a good soldier.

5. The Campaign of 1645.—Early in May Charles left Oxford with the intention of marching northwards, but on reaching Droitwich he turned south. Leicester was captured by Rupert, and Fairfax was therefore ordered to pursue the royal army. He came into collision with the king at Naseby, in Nottinghamshire. Cromwell had joined Fairfax two days earlier with his contingent of cavalry, and mainly through his generalship a great victory was won.

As far as England was concerned the hopes of the Royalists were dashed to the ground, but in Scotland there were still possibilities of ultimate success. The Marquis of Montrose, in 1644, had come forward to lead the party opposed to the Marquis of Argyle, the head of the clan of the Campbells and the leader of the Presbyterian party. Montrose was appointed by Charles to be lieutenant-general of Scotland, and roused the Highland clans which were hostile to the Campbells. He defeated the Covenanters at Tippermuir, near Perth, captured Aberdeen, and early in 1645 inflicted a crushing defeat on the

Campbells at Inverlochy. A further victory at Kilsyth enabled him to occupy Glasgow, and the submission of the Lowlands followed.

Meanwhile, after Naseby, Charles had retired to Hereford, where he gathered an army of 7000 men. He had besides this an army in the west under Goring, and he secretly sent to Ireland promising freedom of worship to Catholics in return for armed assistance. Fairfax, however, led an army into the west and stormed Bridgwater and Bristol. To save Chester, his last important stronghold, Charles moved northwards, but was defeated at Rowton Heath. Three days later he learnt that Montrose had been overthrown. It had proved impossible for Montrose to prevent his Highland followers returning home, and, weakened by their defection, he was defeated by David Leslie at Philiphaugh. The Royalist cause in England and Scotland was now practically ruined. Hopton was compelled to disband his forces in March, 1646, and in June Oxford surrendered. Before this Charles had resolved to throw himself on the loyalty of the Scots, and travelling secretly northwards he surrendered at the Scottish camp at Newark. He was forthwith removed to Newcastle.

6. Negotiations with the Scots and Parliament (1646-1647).—The king's motive in surrendering was the belief that, although beaten in the field, he would be able to take advantage of the divisions amongst his enemies, and be able, as he said, "so to draw either Presbyterians or Independents to side with me for extirpating one another, that I shall be really king again." But events soon showed that the stern realities of the situation were not to be avoided by a shifty diplomacy. The Scots at once pressed Charles to accept the Covenant, and declared their loyal adhesion to their allies, the English Parliament. Negotiations were opened at Newcastle between the king and commissioners representing Parliament and the Scots, but Charles, faithful to the English Church, refused to abandon episcopacy. Had he been willing to do so he might then and there have counted on the swords of his Scottish subjects. Negotiations therefore broke down,

and the Scots, having received from Parliament the arrears of pay due to them, retired beyond the Tweed, and left the king in the hands of Parliamentary commissioners (February, 1647).

With the withdrawal of the Scots and the removal of the king to Holmby House in Northamptonshire, the climax of the successes of Parliament had been reached. But the achievement of their aims did not blind the Presbyterians to the real weakness of their position. The Independents in the army were as much opposed to the supremacy of Parliament over religion as to that of the Crown, and the army, having won the victories, was determined to have a voice in the final settlement. The Presbyterians, therefore, seeing that power was slipping from them, abandoned the attempt to coerce the king, and in return for the nominal concession on the part of Charles of the establishment of Presbyterianism for three years, they agreed to restore the royal authority to its position at the end of the first session of the Long Parliament. In pursuance of this agreement Parliament attempted to disband the greater part of the army. Unfortunately for the Presbyterians the pay of the soldiers was in arrears, and the army, finding that only a small portion of the arrears was to be paid, refused to disband. Cromwell was anxious to keep the army from a rupture with Parliament, but he learnt that the Presbyterians were prepared to support a Scottish invasion and royalist risings on behalf of the king. He therefore authorised the removal of the king from Holmby House to Hampton Court. Parliament in vain threatened vengeance. The army denounced eleven of the Presbyterian leaders, and entered London. The eleven members withdrew to the Continent, but the army remained near London, ready to enforce its demands.

7. The Heads of the Proposals of the Army (1647).

—The terms which the army now offered to the king were the most statesmanlike attempts yet made to arrive at a satisfactory settlement. The army aimed at steering a middle course between the despotism of the king and the tyranny of

Parliament. Hence the king was to surrender the control of the militia for ten years, and for seven years a Council of State was to conduct foreign policy. The Episcopal and Presbyterian systems were both to be sanctioned, and there was to be religious toleration except in the case of Catholics. Parliaments were to be biennial, and to be made more truly representative by a reform of the electorate abolishing rotten boroughs. The king unfortunately had no intention of accepting these terms. He had secretly sent to ask for Scottish help, and, to place himself beyond the reach of the army, he fled to the Isle of Wight (November, 1647). He found himself, however, practically a prisoner in Carisbrooke Castle.

8. The Second Civil War (1648).—The result of the king's attempt to regain power by playing off his enemies against one another, seemed for the moment to promise success. He concluded in December, 1647, an Engagement with the Scots by which he agreed to establish Presbyterianism for three years in return for their armed intervention. The English Parliament, suspicious of Scottish interference, and irritated by the king's duplicity, passed the "Vote of No Addresses," breaking off all relations with Charles. Risings followed in Wales and Kent, and there were signs in other directions of a royalist reaction. A Scottish army, under the Duke of Hamilton, invaded England. The Kentish rising was easily suppressed by Fairfax, while Cromwell crushed Hamilton's army at Preston. The army, finding that during its absence Parliament had re-opened negotiations with the king at Newport, advanced on London. Colonel Pride carried out what was known as "Pride's Purge," the exclusion of 143 members of Parliament, and the remaining members, subsequently nick-named the Rump, voted the appointment of a High Court of Justice for the trial of the king. Charles was brought to Westminster, but refused to recognise the jurisdiction of the court. He took his stand on the ground that it was Parliament and not the Crown which had broken the fundamental laws of the kingdom. The sentence was a foregone conclusion, and the king redeemed the errors of

his life, and the failure of his cause by the noble constancy with which he met his death. He was executed on January 30, 1649, before the palace at Whitehall.

CHIEF EVENTS.

	A.D.
Battle of Edgehill	1642.
First Battle of Newbury	1643.
The Solemn League and Covenant	1643.
Battle of Marston Moor	1644.
Defeat of Essex at Lostwithiel	1644.
Second Battle of Newbury	1644.
Self-denying Ordinance	1645.
Battle of Naseby	1645.
Charles handed over to Parliament	1647.
Second Civil War	1648.
Execution of Charles I.	1649.

CHAPTER XXXII.

THE COMMONWEALTH (1649-1660).

I. The Agreement of the People (1649).—The execution of Charles I. was the act of the army clothed in a parody of constitutional forms. The death warrant had been signed by a minority of the High Court of Justice, and that court itself was the creation of the Rump, the insignificant remnant of the Long Parliament. Thus the attempt to restore the constitution as it had existed in the fifteenth century, before the advent of the Tudors, had hopelessly broken down, and had ended in establishing the power of the sword. The army had proved itself powerful to destroy; but its attempts to govern in defiance of the wishes of the great majority of the nation were foredoomed to failure. In the end a restoration of the monarchy became inevitable, because without the king Parliamentary government was impossible.

A fortnight before the king's death, the Council of the army published the Agreement of the People, a scheme for a republican constitution. It was realised that with the abolition of the monarchy the danger of a Parliamentary despotism would be increased, and hence to provide safeguards a written constitution was devised by which Parliament itself should be bound. There was to be a Parliament consisting of one House, elected biennially by a reformed electorate, and Parliament was to appoint an Executive Council. There was to be a public profession of Christianity "reformed to the greatest purity in doctrine, worship, and discipline," but those who differed from it were not to incur penalties. This toleration, however, was not necessarily to extend to

“popery or prelacy.” The Article on religion and six other points were to be fundamental, and placed outside the legislative powers of Parliament. Troubles in Ireland and Scotland made the carrying out of this scheme impossible for the time being, but it remained as a record of the avowed aims of the army.

2. Cromwell in Ireland (1649-1650).—The death of the king was followed by the proclamation of the Commonwealth, and by the abolition of the House of Lords as “useless and dangerous.” A Council of State of forty-one members was set up; but as most of them were members of Parliament, and the Rump was only attended by about fifty members, the executive and legislature were practically identical. The extremists in the army, known as the Levellers, were disgusted at this oligarchical arrangement, and mutinied; but the danger was stopped by Cromwell’s vigorous measures.

Since the truce of 1643, between Charles and the Confederated Catholics, the English influence in Ireland had rapidly diminished. In 1645 Charles had been compelled to apply to the Irish Catholics for help, and his agent, the Catholic Earl of Glamorgan, had signed a treaty guaranteeing the restoration of Catholic worship; but the king had found himself obliged to repudiate Glamorgan’s action, and Ormond, the Lord-lieutenant, to avoid surrendering Dublin to the Catholics, placed it in the hands of Parliament. Quarrels broke out amongst the Confederates; and the Papal Nuncio Rinuccini, who had been sent to organise the movement, left the country. After the king’s execution, Charles II. was at once proclaimed, and Ormond, who had returned to Ireland, formed a coalition between the Irish Catholic lords and the Protestant loyalists.

In August, 1649, Cromwell, as Lord-lieutenant, landed in Ireland with a large army. Shortly before his arrival, Ormond, while besieging Dublin, had been defeated at Rathmines by the Parliamentary forces under Michael Jones. Cromwell, therefore, found that to defeat the coalition he must undertake a series of sieges. In September he stormed Drogheda,

and put the garrison of 2000 men to the sword, and a few weeks later the garrison of Wexford, together with many of the inhabitants, was slaughtered. The terror caused by these atrocious acts of war broke down the Irish resistance, and the towns surrendered in rapid succession. In 1650 Cromwell was recalled to England, leaving his son-in-law, Ireton, and Ludlow, to finish the conquest. By their exertions the war was carried on with ruthless severity. Plague and famine completed the work of the sword, and in 1652 the peace of desolation settled upon the unhappy country. It has been computed, that out of a population of a million and a half over 600,000 perished. Catholic worship was suppressed, and the priests ministered to the people at the risk of their lives. In 1652 the English Parliament, treating the Irish as a conquered race, ordered the inhabitants of Ulster, Leinster, and Munster, to remove themselves across the Shannon into Connaught and Clare. Here they were to settle on the land which had been laid waste. The confiscated lands were given to Cromwell's veterans. Many of the exiles died of starvation; while thousands of women, boys, and girls, were sold as slaves in the West Indies. Over 40,000 Irishmen went into exile and enlisted in the service of France and Spain. The inhuman work begun by Cromwell, and carried out by his successors, left behind it a legacy of hatred, which has never been obliterated.

3. Cromwell in Scotland (1650-1651).—Cromwell had been recalled from Ireland because of the threatening state of affairs in Scotland. Charles II. had been proclaimed king on the death of his father, but the Scots demanded his acceptance of the Covenant. To do this would mean that Charles placed himself in the hands of the Campbell party, and before yielding Charles sent the gallant Montrose to rouse the royalist Highlanders. Montrose's expedition failed, and he was captured and executed at Edinburgh. Charles thereupon fell back on his second line of action, and, landing in Scotland, took the Covenant, and was crowned at Scone (January, 1651). The English Government replied by raising

SCOTLAND.

English Miles

0 10 20 30 40 50



Walker & Cockerell sc.

an army, and as Fairfax refused to serve, command was given to Cromwell, with Fleetwood, Lambert, and Monk, as his lieutenants. The army entered Scotland in July, 1650, supported by a fleet, but Cromwell found it impossible to dislodge the Scots under David Leslie from their entrenchments outside Edinburgh, and had to retreat to Dunbar. The Scots at once occupied the road along which further retreat southwards was possible, while their main body held a position impossible to assault. Cromwell seemed placed between the alternatives of starvation or surrender, when the Scots, tired of inaction, left their position and advanced to attack the English. At the battle of Dunbar they were completely routed, and Edinburgh surrendered to Cromwell. Leslie entrenched himself near Stirling.

In 1651 Cromwell marched on Perth, intending to cut off Leslie's supplies from the north. By doing so he left the road into England practically undefended. Charles and Leslie therefore broke up the camp at Stirling, and by a series of forced marches made for England. Cromwell, who had considered the possibility of this movement, set out in pursuit, leaving Monk to command in Scotland. Lambert was detached to harass the enemy on their march south through Lancashire, while Cromwell himself advanced through the counties of Northumberland, Durham, and Yorkshire, into the Midlands. Charles had counted on popular risings in his favour, but was disappointed by the smallness of the number of recruits who joined him. As the road to London was barred, he turned towards Worcester. Here, on September 3, 1651, the last battle of the civil war was fought. Charles could only muster 13,000 men against Cromwell's army of 30,000, and the royalists, as completely out-generalled as they were outnumbered, were easily defeated. The "crowning mercy" of Worcester, as Cromwell termed it, took place on the anniversary of his victory at Dunbar. Charles escaped south, and, after many romantic adventures, took ship to France. The greater part of Scotland submitted to Monk.

4. War with Holland (1652-1653).—In 1648 the

peace of Westphalia brought the Thirty Years' War to an end, and the religious question was settled on the basis of the principle "cujus regio ejus religio." Wars for religion were now over; in their place came wars for commerce and territory, which were waged independently of religious affinities. For many years there had been trouble between the English and Dutch in the East Indies, and the English were especially jealous of the great monopoly of the carrying trade which the Dutch possessed. In 1651 the Navigation Act ordered that goods imported into England might only be brought in English ships, or in ships of the country which produced the goods. The result of this blow at the Dutch carrying trade was a war with Holland. The command of the English fleet was given to Blake, who had distinguished himself in the civil war, but till 1649, when he commanded a squadron against Prince Rupert, had never been to sea. A series of battles were fought between the English and Dutch fleets with varying results. In 1652 Blake was defeated by Van Tromp, but in 1653 the English admiral, after a drawn battle off Portland, defeated the Dutch near the North Foreland, and captured eleven ships. In 1654 Holland came to terms, acknowledged the supremacy of the English in the Channel, and submitted to the Navigation Act.

5. The Fall of the Rump (1653).—In its scheme, the "Agreement of the People" the army had proposed that the Rump should be dissolved in April, 1649. This had been prevented by the fact that the army had been occupied since 1649 in Ireland and Scotland; but with the overthrow of the royalists at Worcester (1651), the army felt that the time had come for the carrying out of its aims. The members of the Rump, on the other hand, were with difficulty brought to consider the dissolution of Parliament; and many of them were accused with justice of taking bribes, and of using their position to promote the interest of their relations. At last the Rump, under pressure from the politicians of the army, agreed to dissolve in 1653; but this only brought into relief the difficulty that a free Parliament was impossible, because it

would certainly contain a majority hostile to the Commonwealth. The Rump therefore proposed that only the seats rendered vacant by "Pride's Purge" and other expulsions should be filled up by election. The present members of the Rump were to continue to sit without re-election, and were to form a committee with power to exclude any of the new members whose loyalty to the Government was suspected. Cromwell had been unwilling to use force, but this attempt of the Rump to perpetuate its oligarchical rule roused fierce resentment in the army, and forced him to act decisively. On April 20, 1653, he appeared at Westminster with a guard of soldiers. He quietly took his seat as a private member, and listened to the debate on the Bill, in which the selfish aims of the Rump to prolong its power were embodied. But when the Speaker put the question to the House "that this Bill do pass," Cromwell started up and accused the assembly collectively and individually of corruption, injustice, and oppression. The soldiers were called in; the Speaker was ejected from his chair, and the members were ordered out of the House. Pointing to the mace, the symbol of Parliamentary authority, Cromwell ordered the "bauble" to be taken away. "It is you" he cried to the departing members, "that have forced me to do this, for I have sought the Lord night and day, that He would rather slay me than put me upon the doing of this work."

6. The Barebone's Parliament (1653).—With the dissolution of the Rump the last vestiges of the ancient constitution had disappeared. Kings, Lords, and Commons, had in turn been swept away by the power of the sword; and Cromwell, although he might strive to disguise the fact under the forms of constitutional government, had established a military despotism. He had yet to learn how little the army represented the wishes of the nation at large.

A week after the fall of the Rump, a Council of State, consisting of seven military men and three civilians, was created, and shortly after writs were issued summoning 140 persons to appear at Whitehall. This assembly of nominees of the party in power, contemptuously called by its enemies

“Barebone’s Parliament,” after one of its members, was addressed by Cromwell in a spirit of religious exaltation, and was invited to establish the rule of godliness and carry out the work which they, the “chosen saints,” were to execute to the honour of God. Many of the members were men of distinction, but the assembly contained a large proportion of unpractical fanatics. Large schemes of reform were discussed, such as the abolition of tithes and of the Court of Chancery; but it was soon clear that the rule of the “saints” would lead to anarchy. The minority of the assembly, therefore, by a vote obtained in the absence of their opponents, resigned all powers into Cromwell’s hands.

7. The Instrument of Government (1653).—Cromwell, in December, 1653, announced his intention of governing in accordance with the “Instrument of Government,” a scheme sanctioned by the army, by which a monarchical form of government was again set up. Cromwell was to be Lord Protector, and was to rule with a Council of State and a Parliament of one House. Parliament was to be elected triennially by a reformed electorate, and to sit for five months. The Council was nominated in the Instrument, and councillors were appointed for life. When a vacancy occurred Parliament was to send in six names; two of these were to be selected by the Council, and from these two the new councillor was to be chosen by the Protector. The Protector’s appointments to the highest offices were to be approved by Parliament. Scotland and Ireland were to send representatives to Parliament. The aim of the Instrument was to limit the power of the Protector and of Parliament by means of an independent Council. Like the constitution planned by the Agreement of the People in 1649, the new constitution was not to be altered by Parliamentary enactment.

8. The First Protectorate Parliament (1654).—As soon as Parliament met, the incompatibility between a military despotism and a Parliamentary system at once appeared. The members refused to recognise the new constitution as beyond their criticisms, and proposed to amend it so as to increase the

power of Parliament. Cromwell thereupon explained that, while willing to accept modifications of the Instrument, certain principles in it were fundamental, and he insisted on a written acknowledgment of the Government "as it is settled in a single person and in Parliament." Those members who refused were excluded from the House. But even with this "purified" Parliament, agreement proved impossible on those points of the new constitution which Cromwell regarded as fundamental. On the questions of religious toleration and the control of the army no compromise could be arranged. Both Protector and Parliament were sincerely anxious to establish a government which should be a civil and not a military authority, but neither side dared to appeal to the nation to settle the questions at issue, because the majority of the nation was opposed to that cause which Cromwell called "the glorious cause of the people of God." On January 22, 1655, therefore, Cromwell, realising the failure of his aims, dissolved Parliament.

9. The Major-Generals (1655).—The discord between the Protector and Parliament naturally encouraged the royalists, and a Cavalier rising took place in Wiltshire, where a royalist gentleman, Penruddock, seized the judges who had come to hold the assizes at Salisbury. Cromwell for the time being gave up all attempt at constitutional government. The country was divided into ten districts each ruled by a major-general, responsible to Cromwell himself. A tax of ten per cent. on their incomes, known as the "Decimation," was ordered to be levied on the royalists, and regulations were issued against the use of the Prayer-book, which hitherto had been connived at by the Government. A series of instructions was published, ordering a system of police regulations to deal with the social and moral life of the nation. Royalists implicated in the risings were transported to Barbados, and throughout the country supporters of the Stuarts were forced to give up their arms.

10. The Humble Petition and Advice (1657).—In September, 1656, Cromwell, having stamped out opposition, returned to his constitutional experiments. Parliament was summoned, and the Protector, after excluding a hundred of

his opponents, secured a majority in his favour. Money was required for the war with Spain, which had broken out in 1654, and when Parliament voted the sums he required, Cromwell abolished the major-generals. The success of Cromwell's foreign policy, and the discovery of a plot for his assassination, revived his popularity, and in March, 1657, Parliament presented the "Humble Petition and Advice." The effect of this was to urge the restoration of the kingship with Cromwell in the place of the Stuarts. Cromwell refused the title of king, but he was given the right to nominate his successor and the life members of the Upper House of Parliament which was to be created. The Protector, however, promised not to exclude members of Parliament, and as soon as the hundred members were readmitted the old difficulties revived. Quarrels arose between the two Houses, and Cromwell dissolved Parliament.

11. Cromwell's Foreign Policy (1654-1658).—When Cromwell came into power, after the fall of the Rump, he found the war with Holland still raging, but in 1654 peace was signed. To please Cromwell, and to deprive the Stuart dynasty of Dutch support, the Assembly of the province of Holland passed an Act excluding William of Orange, grandson of Charles I., from the office of Stadtholder. In 1655 Cromwell was called upon to decide between France and Spain, which were still at war, although the Thirty Years' War had ceased in 1648, as far as Germany was concerned. Both countries made offers of alliance to Cromwell. To Spain the Protector at once replied by the demand that Philip IV. should help him to recover Calais, and, meanwhile, cede Dunkirk temporarily to England. The Spanish Government refused to consider this, or to grant Cromwell's further demand for freedom of religion for Englishmen in the Spanish dominions. War therefore broke out, and a fleet under Penn and Venables was sent to the West Indies. Penn failed to capture San Domingo, but the island of Jamaica was seized. Another fleet under Blake entered the Mediterranean, and destroyed the forts of the Dey of Tunis, who held some Englishmen as slaves.

In 1657 Blake won a great victory over the Spanish fleet at Santa Cruz, in Teneriffe, but died on the voyage home.

In his dealings with France Cromwell was equally successful, and the policy of alliance between the two countries was backed by the astute management of the English wishes by Cardinal Mazarin, the successor of Richelieu. In 1655, to satisfy Cromwell, Mazarin insisted that the Duke of Savoy should stop the persecution of his Protestant subjects; and in 1657 an offensive and defensive alliance was signed between England and France against Spain. Six thousand English troops were landed in Spanish Flanders, and Mardyke was captured. In 1658 the army of the allies defeated the Spaniards at the battle of the Dunes, and Dunkirk surrendered. The town was handed over to the English.

The surrender of Dunkirk brought Cromwell's foreign policy to a triumphant conclusion. In marked contrast to this success abroad, his home government had been a failure. Strong as he was, the task he had set himself to achieve was an impossible one. He had tried to rule as a constitutional statesman, but his power won by the sword could only be maintained by force. Fortunately for his reputation, death released him from a situation which could only have increased in difficulty had his life been prolonged. He died on September 3, 1658, the anniversary of his great victories of Dunbar and Worcester.

12. The Anarchy (1658-1660).—Richard Cromwell succeeded his father without opposition, and the support of a considerable party made the establishment of a Cromwell dynasty seem possible. But in 1659 a Parliament was summoned and the old controversies revived. Richard had to choose between accepting the support of Parliament or that of the army, and after dissolving Parliament to please the army, he abdicated the position of Protector, for which he knew himself to be without qualifications. The army then restored the Rump, but soon quarrelled with it and expelled the members from the House. The country now lapsed into anarchy; the army was torn by dissensions; the people began to refuse to pay taxes to uphold a military rule. In despair the officers of

the army again restored the Rump on December 26, 1659. Meanwhile Monk, who was ruling Scotland, had determined to intervene. On January 1, 1660, he crossed the Tweed and marched on London. Lambert tried to stop him, but the soldiers refused to fight the invaders. On reaching London Monk declared for a free Parliament, and forced the Rump to decree its own dissolution. Writs were then issued for a Convention Parliament.

13. The Restoration (1660).—On April 4, Charles issued the Declaration of Breda. This contained four points: a general pardon for all except those who should be excluded by Parliament; the settlement by Parliament of the question of the lands confiscated from the royalists; the payment of arrears due to the army; and toleration in religion for all who did not disturb the public peace. When the Convention Parliament met the Lords returned to Westminster, and the two Houses voted, that “according to the ancient and fundamental laws of this kingdom the Government is, and ought to be, by King, Lords, and Commons.” On May 29, Charles II. entered London amidst transports of popular enthusiasm.

CHIEF EVENTS.

	A.D.
Cromwell's campaign in Ireland . . .	1649, 1650.
Battle of Dunbar	1650.
Battle of Worcester	1651.
Expulsion of the Rump	1653.
The Instrument of Government	1653.
The Peace with Holland	1654.
The Humble Petition and Advice	1657.
The Battle of the Dunes	1658.

CHAPTER XXXIII.

CHARLES II. (1660-1685).

1. The Restoration Settlement (1660-1661).—The restoration of the monarchy involved the necessary settlement of a number of questions, religious as well as political, and to this the Convention Parliament, which continued to sit after the king's return, addressed itself. Meanwhile the Privy Council was re-constituted. Charles had been restored by a coalition of royalists and Presbyterians, and therefore had to admit to the Council men like Manchester and Ashley Cooper, who had opposed Charles I. A Council comprised of such conflicting elements was not likely to work harmoniously, and all real power was concentrated in the hands of an inner circle or Cabinet. Chief amongst the Cabinet circle of councillors was the chancellor, Edward Hyde, Earl of Clarendon. Hyde had joined Charles I. after the Grand Remonstrance, and had been constantly associated with Charles II. during the Civil War and the king's exile on the Continent. His character was upright, but he had little political insight and did not realise the greatness of the changes which had taken place during his long absence. His political ideal was the Elizabethan type of monarchy, and in foreign policy, friendship for France and hostility to Spain.

From June to December the Convention Parliament sat to discuss the four points specified in the Declaration of Breda. An "Act of Indemnity and Oblivion" was passed, pardoning all offences committed during the war. From this pardon the judges of Charles I. were excepted, and thirteen were executed. The bodies of Cromwell, Ireton, and Bradshaw,

were dug up and hanged on the gallows. The question of the confiscated estates of the Crown, Church, and Cavaliers, was settled by their restoration to their rightful owners; but a clause in the Act of Indemnity stopped all claims for the arrears of rent. The army was paid off, but 5000 soldiers were retained as a guard. The king's revenue was fixed at £1,200,000, and instead of the feudal revenue which was abolished, an excise tax on beer was raised. The religious difficulty proved impossible to solve to the satisfaction of all parties. Charles was willing to make concessions to the Presbyterians in the shape of a modified form of episcopacy. But he also wished for toleration wide enough to include Catholics, and the Convention Parliament rejected all compromise between the Episcopalians and Presbyterians from fear of committing itself to a scheme of toleration for Catholics. The religious difficulty was left unsolved at the dissolution of Parliament.

2. The Clarendon Code.—The new Parliament, which met in 1661, was ultra-loyalist. It repealed the Triennial Act of 1641, and the Clerical Disabilities Act of 1642; it denounced all claims on the part of Parliament to control the militia, and declared that Parliament could not lawfully levy war against the king. It was only prevented by Charles from calling in question the Act of Indemnity. A severe blow was at once struck at the Presbyterians by the Corporation Act (1661), which ordered all office-holders in corporate towns to renounce the Covenant and to receive the sacrament, according to the forms of the Church of England, a year before election. Since the dissolution of the Convention, a conference between the bishops and Presbyterians had been held at the Savoy Palace, but had only resulted in bitter controversies. Some alterations were made in the Prayer-book in a direction opposed to Presbyterianism, and the fourth Act of Uniformity was therefore passed in 1662. This ordered that every schoolmaster and clergyman should declare his assent to everything contained in the Prayer-book. Any minister who had not been episcopally ordained, was to obtain ordination within three

months. Two thousand ministers, who had obtained benefices during the Puritan ascendancy, were ejected from their livings. The king felt that the promises which he had made at Breda were being set aside, and he therefore issued a royal declaration in favour of toleration, and asked Parliament to enable him to dispense with the penalties of the Act of Uniformity; but this only provoked Parliament to denounce toleration, and the king had to consent to the banishment of all Catholic priests. In 1664 the Conventicle Act was passed, forbidding nonconformist religious meetings of more than five persons beyond the family. The third offence was to be punished by transportation. During the Great Plague which visited London in 1665, many of the clergy deserted their posts, and their places were filled by the dissenting clergy. This noble conduct only roused greater hostility, and Parliament passed the Five Mile Act, forbidding the clergy ejected for refusing the Act of Uniformity, to come within five miles of a corporate town.

3. The Dutch War (1665-1667).—In 1662 Charles had married the Portuguese princess, Catherine of Braganza, and had acquired as her dowry Tangiers and the island of Bombay. The marriage had been part of Clarendon's policy of friendship for France, for Portugal was a French ally, and Clarendon further propitiated Louis XIV. by selling to him Dunkirk for £200,000, a step which caused much indignation in England. The French alliance was, in fact, a proof of Clarendon's inability to shake off the ideas of his youth. Like Cromwell, he clung to the worn-out policy of opposition to Spain, a country which had fallen into decay, and had ceased to be a danger to the liberties of Europe. On the other hand, France, under the able and ambitious Louis XIV., had taken the place which the House of Hapsburg had filled in the sixteenth century, and by weakening Spain, Cromwell, and after him Clarendon, played into the hands of the Bourbons. To Charles the French alliance was pleasing, because he was willing enough to be the pensioner of Louis XIV., and to obtain from France the means to carry on his extravagant and profligate mode of life. A violent reaction had set in against the austerities of the

Puritan rule, and in the unbounded licence, which became the fashion, the Court was pre-eminent.

In 1664 the long rivalry between England and Holland led to the outbreak of war. The English captured the Dutch settlements in Africa, and seized New Amsterdam, in America, which was re-named New York. In 1665 the king's brother James, Duke of York, commanded the fleet which won a great victory over the Dutch near Lowestoft. The Dutch applied to their old ally, France, for help, and Louis, in accordance with his treaty obligations, declared war against England (1666). But the declaration was only a blind, for his hope was that the rival navies of England and Holland would destroy each other, and the French fleet therefore remained practically inactive. A fleet under Monk, who had been created Duke of Albemarle, was defeated by the Dutch off the North Foreland, but in a battle at the mouth of the Thames, the English were victorious. In 1666 the Great Fire destroyed a large part of London, and this crippled England's resources. In 1667 negotiations were opened at Breda, but the Dutch, in order to put pressure on England, took advantage of the fact that the English fleet had been put on a peace footing to launch a new expedition. The Dutch fleet entered the Thames, sailed up the Medway, burnt several English men-of-war, and blockaded the Thames for some days. This manœuvre hastened the peace negotiations and the Treaty of Breda was signed.

4. The Fall of Clarendon (1667).—It was fortunate for Charles that in Clarendon he had a minister whom he could safely sacrifice to the popular indignation at the humiliations England had suffered. Clarendon, in fact, had made for himself enemies on all sides. He had wearied the king by his warnings against the riotous and immoral character of the Court, and he had incurred the hatred of the king's mistress, Lady Castlemaine. The Cavaliers had not forgiven him for resisting their claims to the arrears of income from their confiscated estates, and the Presbyterians were justly incensed by the cruel repressive policy directed against them. He was attacked by Parliament, and Charles dismissed him from the

chancellorship. To avoid the penalty of an impeachment, Clarendon, acting on a hint from Charles, fled to France, and died in exile. He spent the last years of his life in completing his great literary masterpiece, "The History of the Great Rebellion."

5. The Cabal (1667-1673).—The new ministry was ultimately composed of five members, Clifford, Arlington, Buckingham, Ashley, and Lauderdale. The first measure of the new Cabinet, or Cabal, was the popular Triple Alliance. On the death of Philip IV. of Spain (1665), Louis XIV. had demanded a share of the Spanish Netherlands in right of his wife, Maria Theresa, Philip's elder daughter. The Spanish regency, ruling on behalf of Charles II. of Spain, refused the French demand, and Louis began the war, known as the "War of Devolution," by overrunning the Spanish Netherlands with his armies. To save Holland from becoming the immediate neighbour, and therefore the dependent of France, the Triple Alliance was formed by England, Holland, and Sweden, to impose terms on the combatants. The result was the Peace of Aix la Chapelle (1668), by which Louis abandoned his conquests in return for the cession of many important frontier towns. Louis bitterly resented the interference of the Dutch, and henceforward his policy was directed towards punishing Holland.

In England the Triple Alliance was popular, but Charles had no sympathy with a policy which would entail the cutting off of French subsidies, and as a consequence, his own subjection to Parliament. He was, moreover, a Catholic at heart, and the conversion of the Duke of York in 1669 increased his leanings towards Catholicism. He therefore negotiated the Secret Treaty of Dover (1670), by which he agreed to help Louis against Holland, and to support the French king's claims to the Spanish throne, if Charles II. of Spain died without a son. He also agreed to declare himself a Catholic when it was safe to do so, and Louis was to lend him 6000 troops to put down opposition. In return for English help against Holland and Spain, Charles was to receive the islands of

Walcheren and Cadsand and a share of Spanish South America. The treaty was only known to Clifford, who was a Catholic, and to Arlington; but Buckingham, in 1671, was sent to Paris and negotiated a public treaty against the Dutch.

In pursuance of his agreement with France, Charles prorogued Parliament and obtained money by suspending the payments from the Exchequer of the sums deposited with the Government by the bankers as a loan. By this fraudulent measure, known as the "stop of the exchequer," he obtained £1,300,000, at the expense of the ruin of the bankers and their customers. A few months before this he had issued a Declaration of Indulgence, suspending all penal laws on the subject of religion. Early in 1672 a naval war with Holland began, while Louis, crossing the Rhine, outflanked the Dutch frontier fortresses, and invaded Holland. The advance of the French armies was only stopped by the desperate device of cutting the dykes and flooding the country outside the towns. De Witt, who directed the foreign policy of Holland, was assassinated at the Hague, and William of Orange was made Stadtholder. In spite of the triumphant beginning of the campaign, Louis was forced back on a series of frontier sieges.

6. The Fall of the Cabal (1673).—When Parliament reassembled, after a prorogation of nearly two years, it voted a large sum of money, but on condition that the Declaration of Indulgence was withdrawn. Charles had to yield, and Parliament followed up its victory by passing the Test Act. This ordered that every office-holder must receive the sacrament, according to the Church of England, and declare his disbelief in the doctrine of Transubstantiation. The Duke of York at once resigned the office of lord high admiral, and Clifford retired from the treasury. The Cabal was broken up, and Shaftesbury, who opposed the Catholic sympathies of the king, was dismissed. Sir Thomas Osborne was made treasurer and Earl of Danby, and on the dismissal of Buckingham, became chief adviser of the king. A series of disasters at sea, caused partly by the abstention of the French fleet from rendering active help, caused England to withdraw from the war. In

1674 peace was signed, the Dutch ceding to England the island of St. Helena.

7. Danby's Policy.—Danby's home policy aimed at strengthening the monarchy by cementing an alliance with the Church and the Cavalier, or Country Party, in opposition to the party which favoured toleration and was led by Shaftesbury. In foreign affairs he supported the Dutch alliance and hostility to France. His rule was arbitrary, for he tried to force an oath of non-resistance on all members of Parliament, and he closed the London coffee-houses on the ground that they were centres of free discussion. He imprisoned Shaftesbury and three other peers for declaring a lengthy prorogation of Parliament to be illegal. His foreign policy was severely hampered by the interference of the king and by the action of Louis XIV. Having withdrawn England from the war with Holland, he was now anxious to range her on the side of Holland against France, in the coalition formed by Austria and Spain to check the aggressions of Louis XIV. Charles, however, could not afford to quarrel with France, and thus lose the pension on which he relied, and Louis was able to paralyse Danby's policy by bribing the king to prorogue Parliament or the Opposition in Parliament to resist the royal wish to raise an army. On the Continent France held her own against the coalition, and the prospect of the conquest of the Spanish Netherlands became so threatening that Parliament, in 1677, asked Charles to join the coalition. William of Orange came to England and was married to Mary, daughter of James, Duke of York. Even Charles was afraid that English commerce would suffer if France controlled the Netherlands, and in 1678 he declared in favour of a war with France and began to gather an army. The Opposition, whose fears were worked on by the warnings and gifts of the French ambassador, demanded its dismissal, and Charles at once returned to his policy of subservience to France. Danby was ordered to address to Louis a demand for money for which Charles would prorogue Parliament and desert Holland. Louis was thus able to make the favourable Peace of Nymwegen (1678). At the instigation

of Louis, Danby's letter was published, and he was impeached by the Commons. Charles dissolved Parliament in 1679, after it had been in existence for nearly eighteen years.

8. The Popish Plot.—The fall of Danby coincided with the excitement caused by the pretended revelations by Titus Oates of the existence of a Jesuit plot to murder Charles and place James on the throne. Oates, a foul-minded impostor, had been at one time a clergyman of the Church of England, but to serve his nefarious ends, had feigned conversion to the Catholic Church, and had been received into the Jesuit College at St. Omer. He was expelled for misconduct, but he had gained sufficient knowledge of Catholic affairs to be able to give some sort of plausibility to the lies which he fabricated. His story rapidly grew as more details were required of him and it at last took shape in a supposed scheme for the seizure of the government of England by the Jesuits and a general massacre of Protestants. The papers of various Catholics were seized, and fortunately for Oates in those of Coleman, the secretary of the Duchess of York, expressions were found which seemed to imply some great enterprise for the conversion of England. This, and the fact that the magistrate, Sir Edmundsbury Godfrey, before whom Oates had made his depositions, was found dead on Primrose Hill, gave colour to the wildest surmises. Five Catholic peers were sent to the Tower, and hundreds of Catholics were imprisoned. The House of Commons voted "that there hath been, and is, a damnable and hellish plot, carried on by Papist recusants, for assassinating and murdering the king, for subverting the Government, and rooting out the Protestant religion." Parliament passed an Act excluding Catholic peers from the House of Lords. Other informers, such as Bedloe and Dangerfield, came forward to share with Oates the rewards of the iniquitous trade of swearing away the lives of innocent men. A number of Jesuits and secular priests were tried and executed, their trials being conducted so that conviction was inevitable. In 1680 the venerable Lord Stafford was brought to the scaffold on the false charge of plotting the king's murder.

9. The Exclusion Bill (1679).—On the fall of Danby the king, by the advice of Sir William Temple, determined to abandon the Cabal system. A new Privy Council was appointed, consisting of thirty members drawn from both parties and both Houses of Parliament, its members having an aggregate income of £300,000. The idea was to shield the king from the attacks of Parliament by means of a body of councillors who were in close contact with both Houses. Shaftesbury, Cavendish, and Russell, were admitted to the Council. The experiment failed, and an inner circle, which included Sunderland, Halifax, and Temple himself, absorbed all power. Shaftesbury and his allies therefore again went into opposition, and when Charles' second Parliament met in 1679, a Bill to exclude James from the throne was brought in. Charles dissolved Parliament. Before it separated he gave the royal assent to the great Habeas Corpus Act, which secured to persons accused of crimes the right to a writ of Habeas Corpus and a speedy trial.

10. Scottish Affairs.—The restoration had broken the legislative union with Scotland which Cromwell had planned, and the Scottish Parliament had regained its position of independence. At the same time episcopacy was revived, and the clergy who refused to accept episcopal ordination were ejected from their livings. The abjuration of the Covenant was imposed on all officials. The government was entrusted to Lauderdale, who acted in conjunction with Archbishop Sharp. To overawe the western Lowland, which were strongly Presbyterian, Lauderdale quartered Highlanders on the disaffected districts. In 1679 Archbishop Sharpe was brutally murdered by some extreme Covenanters, and Graham of Claverhouse, later on Viscount Dundee, who was sent against the rebels in the west, was defeated at Drumclog. The Duke of Monmouth, the king's illegitimate son, was sent to put down the insurrection and crushed the rebels at Bothwell Bridge. Monmouth was recalled and James, Duke of York, went to Scotland as High Commissioner, and under his direction a persecution of pitiless vigour was directed against the Covenanters.

11. The Fall of Shaftesbury (1681).—The party led by

Shaftesbury had taken every advantage of the perjuries of Oates and his imitators. Shaftesbury himself was too clearheaded a statesman to place credence in the tissue of lies fabricated by the impostors, but he hoped to find in the popular panic a means to oust James from the inheritance of the Crown. In 1679 the elections for the third Parliament had been held, but it was not allowed to meet. Shaftesbury therefore organised petitions for its meeting, whereupon the royal party presented counter-petitions expressing abhorrence at this interference with the king's prerogative. Hence the political nicknames Petitioners and Abhorrrers, terms which soon gave way to Whigs and Tories. (Whig was the name given to the extreme Covenanters in Scotland, while Tory was the appellation of the Irish banditti.) When Parliament met in 1680 the Exclusion Bill was brought in and Shaftesbury and his party openly advocated the claims of the Duke of Monmouth, on the pretence that the king had been secretly married to Monmouth's mother, Lucy Walters. The Exclusion Bill was rejected by the Lords and Parliament was dissolved. The fourth and last Parliament of the reign met at Oxford 1681. Charles offered concessions which would have made James only nominally king; James was to be banished, and the government carried on in his name by William of Orange. The Commons refused all concessions, and Parliament was dissolved, after a session lasting one week.

The king now appealed to the nation against the factious conduct of Parliament, and was met by a great outburst of loyalty, which enabled him to take vengeance on his enemies. The Whigs had overshot the mark by their Exclusion Bill, for it would have excluded not only James but also his Protestant children, Mary and Anne. Besides this, a reaction had begun against the authors of the Popish Plot scare. Shaftesbury fled abroad, and Monmouth was banished. A general conspiracy was formed by Russell and the Whigs for an insurrection, while some extreme members of the party planned the Rye House Plot for the assassination of the king and James on their way south from Newmarket. Russell and Algernon Sidney the republican, were arrested and executed, after a trial

which was conducted with gross injustice. For the rest of the reign the Tories were in power under Rochester and the Duke of York. Writs of "quo warranto" were issued to the towns, and, on the ground that the corporations had exceeded these rights, their charters were forfeited. The new charters altered the corporations so as to place the town electorate in the hands of the Tories. Charles, however, did not again summon Parliament, and for the four last years of the reign relied on the subsidies of Louis XIV., who was anxious to prevent the summons of Parliament through fear of its opposition to his schemes of aggression in Alsace and Lorraine.

The effect of the reaction against the authors of the Popish Plot scare and of the Exclusion Bill struggle was to make Charles practically absolute. He had divined that the nation had no wish to see the troubles of the civil war renewed, and he had used with consummate ability his constitutional right of summoning and dismissing Parliament so as to give the Whig Opposition opportunity to destroy itself by alienating all moderate men through the violence of its conduct. With all his levity and indolence, and his cynical disbelief in the disinterestedness of men's motives, Charles knew how to appeal to the affections of his subjects. His position at his accession had been one of extraordinary difficulty, but he had contrived to steer clear of all dangers, and at his death he left the monarchy stronger than it had been since the Tudor period. His death came unexpectedly, for since 1679, when he had been dangerously ill, he had regained much of his health by avoiding the excesses in which he had previously indulged. But on February 2, 1685, he was seized with a fit of apoplexy and died four days later. On his death-bed he was reconciled to the Catholic Church, and received the last sacraments.

CHIEF EVENTS.

	A. D.
Act of Indemnity	1660.
Corporation Act	1661.
War with Holland	1665-1667.
Fall of Clarendon	1667.
Triple Alliance	1668.
Treaty of Dover	1670.
Test Act	1673.
Habeas Corpus Act	1679.

CHAPTER XXXIV.

JAMES II. (1685-1688).

I. Accession of James II.—The character of James II. was markedly different from that of his predecessor. Charles II. had united the graceful manners of his father, Charles I., with the shrewdness and caustic wit of his grandfather, James I. James II. had many good qualities; he had shown himself a sound, far-seeing administrator at the Admiralty, and he had given proofs of courage in war. Although not without most serious moral failings, he profoundly disliked the parade of indecorum, which had disgraced the Court of Charles II. and had lowered the moral standard of society. Where he gave his confidence he did so unreservedly, and his loyalty to those who served him was unshakeable. But in every quality of statesmanship he was deficient. Cold and unimaginative, he had no insight into character, and he was totally unable to forecast the trend of events. It was said truly of him that whereas Charles II. could see things if he would, James would see things if he could. He had no knowledge of the arts of popularity, or of the management of men, and his foolish attempts to force the Catholic faith on a hostile nation recoiled disastrously on the interests of religion and on the fortunes of his dynasty.

The new reign opened auspiciously; the Tory reaction was still unabated, and the doctrine of non-resistance and of the Divine Right of Kings was proclaimed from the pulpits of the Established Church. James promised to respect the Protestant Church, while maintaining his own right to practise the religion he had embraced. "I know," James declared to the Privy Council, "that the laws of England are sufficient to make the

king as great a monarch as I can wish ; and as I shall never depart from the just rights and prerogatives of the Crown, so I shall never invade any man's property." Parliament was summoned, and an overwhelming Tory majority was returned. It voted the king a revenue on a larger scale than that of Charles II., and although reference was made to the enforcement of the penal laws against Catholics, the subject was dropped when the king expressed his displeasure. Titus Oates and Dangerfield were severely punished ; while several thousands of Catholics, and a number of Quakers, were released from prison.

2. The Rebellions of 1685.—Throughout the last years of Charles II. a cruel persecution had been carried on against the Scottish Covenanters, and the first Scottish Parliament of James II. passed an act ordering that any one who attended a conventicle should be punished by death. The irritation caused by the cruelties inflicted on the Covenanters in the west of Scotland by Graham of Claverhouse and the royal troops, roused the hopes of the small group of Whig leaders who had taken refuge in Holland. Monmouth and Argyle determined to lead two expeditions, the former to the west of England, the latter to the west of Scotland. Argyle's expedition was badly mismanaged ; the clan of the Campbells did not rise, and the Covenanters in the western Lowlands were too feeble to afford much support to the rebels. Argyle was easily captured, and was executed.

A month after Argyle's landing Monmouth's expedition disembarked at Lyme Regis, in Dorsetshire. Monmouth issued a violent proclamation, denouncing James as a usurper, murderer, and tyrant, and ascribing to him the fire of London, the death of Charles II., and other enormities. The aims of the rebels were declared to be the establishment of the Protestant religion beyond all possibility of its being supplanted, the repeal of laws against Protestant dissenters, annual Parliaments, upright judges, and the restoration of town charters. Although Monmouth was not joined by any persons of position he mustered three thousand adherents from the

lower classes, and at the head of these set out for Taunton, where he was warmly welcomed. Here he proclaimed himself king, with the title of James II., and offered a reward for the capture of "the usurper James, Duke of York." He then pushed eastwards as far as Philip's Norton, but, finding himself unsupported, he retreated to Bridgwater. Meanwhile Parliament had passed an act of attainder against him, and James himself advanced towards the west with a small army. Monmouth tried to surprise the royal forces under Lord Feversham by a night attack on their camp at Sedgmoor. The attack failed, and the royal troops, led by John Churchill, the future Duke of Marlborough, boldly attacked the insurgents. Monmouth fled, leaving his brave followers to continue the hopeless struggle. He was captured and brought to London, where, after an interview with the king, in which he in vain pleaded for his life, he was executed. A terrible vengeance was wreaked on the unhappy rebels. Colonel Kirke hanged a hundred who had been captured, and the infamous Judge Jeffreys was sent with four other judges to try the rest. In the judicial circuit, which is known as the "Bloody Assizes," several hundred rebels were sentenced to death, and a large proportion of these were hanged. Over 800 were transported to the West Indies. Jeffreys, who throughout conducted the proceedings with savage brutality, was rewarded with the office of Lord Chancellor.

3. Climax of James's Power.—For the second time in his career the foolish violence of his enemies had only served to strengthen James's political position. He had now obtained from Parliament an income which made him independent of Louis XIV., and he hoped to win its assent to the creation of a standing army, the repeal of the Test Act, and a modification of the Habeas Corpus Act, which would give the Government the right of discretionary imprisonment. Lord Halifax, the president of the Council, was opposed to arbitrary measures, and was therefore removed from office, and James placed increasing confidence in his crafty and unreliable minister, the Earl of Sunderland.

When Parliament reassembled fears were aroused by the knowledge that the army was still kept up, although the Monmouth rebellion had collapsed, and that a number of Catholic officers had been appointed. Moreover, popular apprehension on the subject of religion had been greatly increased by the revocation of the Edict of Nantes by Louis XIV., which drove thousands of French Huguenots to take refuge in England. It was feared that James had made a secret compact with Louis to crush Protestantism, and this suspicion showed itself in the demand made by the Commons that the Test Act should be enforced. James had asked for £1,200,000 for a standing army, but the Commons only granted £700,000. As the Lords also opposed the appointment of Catholic officers, James prorogued Parliament, and it did not meet again.

4. The Dispensing Power (1686).—James now returned to the well-known Stuart device of obtaining through the judges that which Parliament refused. Having removed from office those judges who were likely to adopt an independent attitude, James promoted a collusive suit against Sir Edward Hales, a Catholic convert, who was sued for the penalty of £500, to which he was liable for holding an office in the army without having complied with the Test Act. Hales pleaded a royal dispensation, and the judges, acting in accordance with legal precedent, declared in favour of the dispensing power of the Crown.

James at once took advantage of this decision to give offices of various kinds to Catholics. A Catholic Cabal was formed, which included Sunderland, Father Petre the Jesuit, and Richard Talbot, Earl of Tyrconnel. Four Catholics were admitted to the Privy Council. Clergymen of the Church of England who had become Catholics were authorised to retain their benefices, and a convert, Massey, was made Dean of Christ Church, Oxford. The conversion of a number of noblemen and influential persons naturally roused widespread alarm amongst the Protestants. Meanwhile James, breaking the solemn promise made at his accession to respect the

Established Church, had determined to use all the powers of the Crown to weaken it. Clergymen who defended the doctrines of their Church were suspended, and to ensure the obedience of the Protestant clergy James set up the Ecclesiastical Commission Court to enforce his authority as supreme governor of the Church. Compton, Bishop of London, for refusing to punish Sharp, Dean of Norwich, for an anti-papal sermon was suspended. In Scotland a similar policy was pursued, and the dispensing power was employed to gain for Scottish Catholics the freedom from penalties which the Scottish Parliament refused to grant. In Ireland, under the rule of the Earl of Tyrconnel, the Protestant ascendancy was threatened by the favours showered on the Catholics.

5. The Declaration of Indulgence (1687).—The secret Cabal, of which Sunderland and Father Petre were the leaders, was now supreme. Lord Rochester, the king's brother-in-law, was dismissed from the treasurership for refusing to condone the attacks on the Church of England. In the hope of winning over the Dissenters, James, in April, 1687, issued his first Declaration of Indulgence, suspending all penal laws on the subject of religion. A papal Nuncio was publicly received at Windsor, and public irritation was further increased by the proceedings of the Ecclesiastical Commission against the Fellows of Magdalen College, Oxford. James had insisted on their electing to the vacant presidentship Parker, Bishop of Oxford, who was at heart a Catholic, and on their refusal to do so they were ejected from the college, and Parker was forcibly installed. The vice-chancellor of the University of Cambridge was deprived of his office for refusing to confer a degree on Francis, a Benedictine monk. In the hope of obtaining a new Parliament which would sanction the Declaration of Indulgence, the existing Parliament, which had been prorogued since November, 1685, was dissolved, and arrangements were made to obtain a subservient Parliament. But James had now thoroughly aroused the fears of the Tories, and as he saw that even a packed Parliament could not be trusted, he abandoned the idea of summoning one.

6. James II. and Louis XIV.—James had not proceeded on his ruinous course without warnings from his own side. Amongst English Catholics a large party was opposed to the policy of Father Petre and Tyrconnel, and was in favour of moderate counsels. This party had the support of the Pope, Innocent XI., who, for reasons ecclesiastical as well as political, was strongly opposed to Louis XIV., and earnestly deprecated an Anglo-French alliance with its consequence, the enforced restoration of Catholicism in England. Innocent had condemned the Revocation of the Edict of Nantes, he had urged James not to break with Parliament, and he had refused the latter's request that Father Petre should be made a cardinal. The Pope was also a secret supporter of the great league which was being formed by the emperor, Spain, and Holland, and many of the German princes, against the ceaseless aggressions of Louis XIV. James had at first shown an intention to pose as the arbiter of Europe, but as his difficulties at home increased, he leaned more and more towards the policy of dependence on France.

7. The Second Declaration of Indulgence (1688).—On April 22, a second Declaration was issued, and was ordered to be read publicly in the churches. Churchmen were now brought definitely face to face with the dilemma whether to uphold still the doctrine of non-resistance, which they had preached so long, or to abandon it now that the authority of the Crown was wielded against them, and not against Dissenters and Recusants. Fortunately for them the great bulk of the Dissenters refused to accept the Declaration because it involved a breach of the Constitution, and the clergy therefore determined on resistance. A petition, drawn up by Sancroft, Archbishop of Canterbury, and signed by six bishops, was presented to the king asking to be released from the obligation to break the law by reading an illegal Declaration. James, acting on the advice of Jeffreys, sent the seven bishops to the Tower on a charge of sedition. Their conduct roused the wildest enthusiasm, and on being tried by a jury they were acquitted. While their fate was still undecided, and public

opinion was worked up to the highest pitch of excitement and suspicion, the queen, Mary of Modena, gave birth to a son. The malice of James' enemies insisted that no child had been born, and that the young prince was an infant secretly smuggled into the palace in order to defraud Mary, Princess of Orange, of her rights of succession. The falsehood, in the excited state of the national mind, was widely believed.

8. The Invasion of William of Orange (1688).—The birth of a son, who would be brought up as a Catholic, made the revolution inevitable. James had alienated the vast majority of the nation by his impolitic measures, and both Tories and Whigs turned to William of Orange as the saviour of the Constitution and of Protestantism. James could not even rely on the large army which he had stationed at Hounslow to overawe the capital. On the day on which the verdict in favour of the seven bishops was delivered, a letter signed by seven leading men, representing the Whig and Tory parties, was sent to William, inviting him to bring an army to rescue the religion and liberties of England.

For the moment it seemed doubtful whether William would be able to accept the invitation addressed to him. Throughout his career he had been too much hampered by popular control in Holland to care much for the fate of Parliamentary rights in England; but his life had been spent in one long struggle to resist the encroachments of Louis XIV., and to rescue England from dependence on France was a most important move in the perilous game he was playing against France. In 1686 he had drawn together the threads of a great combination of European States, known as the League of Augsburg, to oppose the pretensions of France. It had been joined by the emperor, Spain, Sweden, Brandenburg, and Holland. Innocent XI. supported the coalition, and was in close relations with William. But it was clear that the Dutch would never allow the expedition to England to sail, so long as the Netherlands were threatened by the army which Louis had massed on the Belgian frontier. The infatuation of James released William from his difficulties.

In spite of the warnings of Louis against William's designs, James persisted in the belief that Mary and her husband would not conspire to dethrone him. As a last resort Louis warned the Dutch States General that he would regard an attack on England as a declaration of war against himself. James, who was offended by the attitude of protection adopted by Louis, warmly repudiated the allegation that there was a secret treaty between himself and the French king, and the latter therefore left him to his fate. The French troops in Flanders were marched south to attack the Empire, and William was thus free to start. On November 5, 1688, William landed at Brixham, in Torbay, and on reaching Exeter was joined by some adherents from the west.

9. The Flight of James II.—Before the landing of William, James, realising his danger, had striven to recall the results of his disastrous policy. The Ecclesiastical Commission was abolished, the bishops who had been prosecuted were restored to favour, and the charters taken from the cities and boroughs were restored. These concessions only evoked protestations of loyalty, which were illusory. The army was raised to 40,000 and placed under Lord Feversham, and the fleet was commanded by Lord Dartmouth. Feversham pushed westwards as far as Salisbury, while William advanced to Wincanton, where a skirmish took place, in which the royal troops were worsted. Hitherto William had not met with much support, but the spirit of disaffection rapidly spread. John Churchill organised the desertion of James by the troops, and plotted to hand over James himself as a prisoner. The king, uncertain as to whom he could trust, fled to London. Here he learnt that at Churchill's instigation the Princess Anne had abandoned him. After negotiating an armistice with William, during which Parliament was to meet, and having sent the queen and her little son to France, James attempted to escape. He was stopped at Sheerness and brought to London; but William was only too glad to facilitate his flight, and on December 23, 1688, he left England and sailed for France. Here he was received with generous

kindness by Louis, who assigned to him a royal palace and a pension of £45,000 a year.

10. The Convention Parliament (1689).—On reaching London William had issued writs for a Convention Parliament, and it met on January 22, 1689. William, before the invasion, had solemnly pledged his word to his Catholic allies on the Continent that he had no intention of advancing any claims to the English Crown, but he was now strong enough to abandon all pretences. His position was, however, a difficult one, and it required all his masterly diplomacy to attain his ends. The Whigs had a majority in the Commons, but the Tories predominated in the Lords, and the latter refused at first to contemplate the deposition of the king, and to drop the doctrine of Divine Right, to which the Tories had pledged themselves again and again. Some of the Tories, therefore, proposed that James should be nominally king, and that William should be regent; while the rest under Danby urged that as James by his flight had abdicated, Mary was heir to the throne. William, however, refused to be either regent or king consort, and ultimately two resolutions were passed (1) That James having broken “the original contract between king and people, and by the advice of Jesuits and other wicked persons having violated the fundamental laws, and having withdrawn himself out of the kingdom, had abdicated the government and that the throne was thereby vacant.” (2) “That experience had shown it to be inconsistent with the safety and welfare of this Protestant kingdom to be governed by a popish prince.” It was further agreed to offer the Crown to William and Mary, jointly and severally, in a constitutional document, the Declaration of Right, which should set forth the illegalities of James II., and lay down certain fundamental rights. This Declaration was accepted by William and Mary, and on February 13, 1689, they were proclaimed king and queen.

The Bill of Rights, which was the formal ratification by Parliament, with some modifications, of the Declaration of Right, enumerated the unconstitutional acts of James, and made the following declarations:—

(1) That it was illegal to suspend or dispense with the execution of laws by royal authority, "as it had been assumed and exercised of late," or to erect courts of ecclesiastical commissioners, or to levy money, unless granted by Parliament, or to keep a standing army in time of peace, without the consent of Parliament.

(2) That Protestant subjects had the right to carry arms; that Parliamentary elections ought to be free, and freedom of speech in Parliament should not be questioned; that for the redress of grievances Parliament ought to be held frequently; and that excessive fines and punishments ought not to be awarded.

(3) That William and Mary were to be king and queen; on their death the Crown was to devolve on their children, and in default of their issue on Anne and her children; if these failed it was to go to any children of William, should he survive Mary and marry a second wife. Any person who was a Catholic, or married a Catholic, was declared incapable of occupying the throne.

II. Results of the Revolution.—Thus was accomplished what was termed the "Glorious Revolution." Viewed in some of its aspects, and more especially the conduct of its promoters, it has little claim to that title. It had been achieved by a foreign prince and a foreign army, and its success was due as much to the perfidy and ingratitude of men of every rank, as to the perverse obstinacy and illegal conduct of James II. The low standard of political conduct, fostered by the success of the Revolution, is seen in the treacherous conduct of leading statesmen during the next twenty-five years. In addition to this, the Revolution was followed by long years of war, and by a vast increase of the public burdens. But, in spite of these temporary drawbacks, the Revolution had the supreme advantage of settling the long struggle between king and Parliament. It tore up by the roots the doctrine of the Divine Right of Kings, which had divided the nation for nearly a century. It established religious toleration for Dissenters, and, although none was intended for Catholics, it was inevitable that in the

long run Catholic claims should not be successfully resisted. It set up the supremacy of a Parliament, which was in reality an oligarchy, but this was a necessary stage through which the nation had to pass on the way to wider political liberties. The doctrine of the Whigs, that the basis of sovereignty was an original compact between king and people, was as un-historical as the Stuart dogma of Divine Right; but the Whig doctrine had the merit of enforcing the truth that both king and people were bound by obligations which could not with safety be disregarded.¹

CHIEF EVENTS.

	A.D.
Monmouth's Rebellion	1685.
Court of Ecclesiastical Commission established .	1686.
Second Declaration of Indulgence	1688.
Convention Parliament meets	1689.

¹ For a discussion of the various aspects of the Revolution, see Lecky, "History of England in the Eighteenth Century," vol. i. pp. 13-23.

CHAPTER XXXV.

WILLIAM AND MARY (1689-1694); *WILLIAM III.* (1694-1702).

1. The Coalition Ministry (1689-1690).—William had been called to the throne by a union of Whigs and Tories, and the new Ministry was therefore drawn from both parties. The Tory Danby, who had done so much to secure the accession of William and Mary, was made president of the Council and Marquis of Carmarthen, and the two secretaryships of State were shared by the Tory Finch, Earl of Nottingham, and the Earl of Shrewsbury, who was a Whig. Halifax, who, from the careful moderation of his views, had earned for himself the name of "Trimmer," became privy seal. The treasury and admiralty were put into commission, and shared by Whigs and Tories. William was his own chief minister, and undertook the management of foreign affairs. His most intimate friends were the two Dutchmen, Bentinck, whom he made Earl of Portland, and Arnold van Keppel, who in 1696 became Earl of Albemarle. To conciliate the Churchills, who were all-powerful with Anne, John Churchill was made Earl of Marlborough.

2. Constitutional Changes (1689-1696).—The Convention, which had now become a regular Parliament, at once proceeded to settle the Revenue. It gave the king a revenue of £1,200,000, of which £700,000 was granted to him for life, and was to be devoted to the expenses of the Crown and to the payment of the Civil officials, and hence came to be known as the Civil List. The remainder was voted for short periods, and the practice was now adopted by which estimates were prepared annually for the different departments, and the sums

thereupon voted were strictly appropriated to the object of the grant. This secured the Commons a strong hold on the Ministry and rendered necessary the annual summons of Parliament. The question of a standing army was also settled on similar lines by the Mutiny Act of 1689, by which the army was legalised and placed under the jurisdiction of courts martial. The Act was to remain in force for six months, and after that it was renewed from year to year, thus providing another means of Parliamentary control over the government. Without the annual passing of the Mutiny Act by Parliament the army legally would cease to exist.

Another important measure was the Toleration Act of 1689, which gave freedom of worship to all Dissenters who believed in the doctrine of the Trinity. William, who as a Calvinist had no sympathy with the forms of the English Church, favoured a Bill of Comprehension for reconciling Dissenters to the established religion, but the clergy opposed all concessions, and the scheme fell through. The High Church clergy were, in fact, bitterly aggrieved at the enforced surrender of the doctrine of Divine Right, and when an oath of allegiance was ordered to be taken by all beneficed clergy, Archbishop Sancroft, Bishop Ken, and about three hundred clergymen, refused to take it, and were ejected from office. They formed the Non-Jurors, who claimed to be the true Church of England, and the schism was maintained till 1805.

Later on in the reign other important changes were effected. In 1694 the Triennial Act limited the duration of Parliament to three years. This prevented the abuse by which a subservient Parliament, like that of 1661-1679, was indefinitely prolonged. In 1695 the Licensing Act of 1662, which severely restricted the press, was allowed to drop, and the era of free discussion was made ultimately possible. In 1696 the Treasons Act improved the procedure of treason trials and gave the accused the safeguards for the fair hearing of his case, which had been hitherto denied.

3. The Act of Grace (1690).—William had not been long on the throne before a reaction set in. The Whigs were

determined to wreak vengeance on the Tories for their proscription during the years 1681-1688, and as a Bill of Indemnity was necessary to pass over the acts of those who had supported James II., they tried to make it a measure of retaliation by excepting from its scope a large number of Tories. At the same time they endeavoured practically to disfranchise the Tories throughout the country. This William decided to prevent, for he aimed at ruling independently of parties, and by nature leaned rather to the Tories, whose high prerogative views he regarded with favour. The struggle of parties became so violent that Parliament was dissolved, and William threatened to leave England. A new Parliament was summoned in 1690, and in it the Tories were the dominant party. The Ministry was remodelled; Halifax was removed from office, and a larger proportion of Tories was introduced. Danby practically became head of the Ministry. The Whig demand for vengeance was stopped by the Act of Grace, which granted an indemnity for all Acts prior to the Revolution, and only excluded a small number of offenders from its provisions.

4. The Revolution in Scotland (1689-1692).—In Scotland the Revolution was marked by greater turbulence than in England. The episcopal clergy were driven from their benefices, in many cases with personal violence. A Convention met at Edinburgh and declared that James II. had forfeited the Crown, and conferred it on William and Mary, by what was called the Claim of Right. Episcopacy was declared abolished. Graham of Claverhouse, Viscount Dundee, the chief Jacobite adherent, withdrew to the Highlands, and organised the clans, which had always been hostile to the Campbells and the Whigs. An army under Mackay was sent north, and a battle was fought in the pass of Killiecrankie, which leads from Perthshire into the Highlands. Mackay's troops were unable to resist the fierce onrush of the Highlanders, and fled panic-stricken. Dundee was, however, killed in the hour of victory, and his successor, General Cannon, was a leader of no ability. Mackay defeated a force of Highlanders at St. Johnstones in Perthshire, and after a

second defeat at Dunkeld the clansmen retreated to their mountainous fastnesses in the north. The Jacobite cause for the time being was dead (1689).

To complete the pacification of the country an amnesty was proclaimed in 1691, for all those who before January 1, 1692, should take an oath to live peaceably. The oath was taken by the majority of the clans, but MacIan, chief of the Macdonalds of Glencoe, failed to do so till January 6, 1692. The Master of Stair, William's secretary for Scotland, obtained from his master an order "to extirpate that set of thieves." A number of soldiers from a Campbell regiment were sent to Glencoe, and were entertained hospitably by the unsuspecting Macdonalds. When all the passes had been secured, the soldiers attempted the massacre of their hosts. Only a small number were killed, but the village was burnt, and the rest were driven into the mountains where many perished from cold. The atrocious massacre of Glencoe is the darkest act in William's career; but its ferocity served to cow the spirit of revolt in the Highlands till the rebellion of 1715.

5. The Struggle in Ireland (1689-1691).—In 1661, by the Act of Settlement, it had been arranged that the Cromwellian settlers should retain their possessions or be compensated, if their lands were restored to the Catholic and Protestant royalists. This compromise, however, had proved unworkable, and in the end only about one-third of their estates had been restored to the royalists. James, from the first, had looked on Ireland as a refuge, in case of trouble in England, and under Tyrconnel the Protestant ascendancy had been completely broken down. At the Revolution, therefore, the Protestants, fearing for their lives, abandoned their estates and took refuge in the towns, occupying Londonderry and Enniskillen in the name of William and Mary.

In March, 1689, James, with a number of French officers, landed at Kinsale. On reaching Dublin he found his own party divided between those who wanted to use Ireland as a centre from which to promote his restoration in England, and those who hoped to establish the independence of Ireland once for

IRELAND

1171 to 1798.

English Miles

0 10 20 30 40 50 60



all. Of the latter, who were the stronger party, Tyrconnel was the chief, and under his influence an Irish Parliament was summoned, which repealed the Act of Settlement, and passed an act of attainder against over 2000 persons. Meanwhile the siege of the Protestant strongholds was undertaken. Londonderry was defended by Walker, a clergyman, and Major Baker, and the blockade became so rigorous, that the brave inhabitants were brought to the verge of starvation. William sent a fleet, but nothing was done until on July 28, 1689, when two ships broke their way through the boom across the river which leads from Lough Foyle, and Londonderry, after a siege of 105 days, was saved. Three days later the Protestants in Enniskillen sallied forth under Colonel Wolseley and defeated 6000 regular troops at Newton Butler.

The successful defence of Londonderry and Enniskillen saved Protestantism in Ulster from destruction, but help from England was still urgently needed. In August, 1689, Marshal Schomberg, the veteran French general, who had been expelled from the service of Louis XIV. on account of his religion, landed in Ireland with an English army composed mainly of raw recruits. Hundreds of the soldiers died of a pestilence which broke out in the entrenched camp at Dundalk, and Schomberg in these circumstances dared not risk a decisive engagement.

In the summer of 1690 William himself crossed to Ireland and marched south from Belfast. The royalist army, under James, fell behind the Boyne, and on July 1, 1690, the cause of the Revolution was upheld by a great victory. The Irish infantry fled at the first attack, and the Irish cavalry with the French contingent were unable to prevent a disastrous defeat. James fled to Dublin, and shortly after sailed for France. William entered Dublin in triumph, and completed the conquest of the east coast of Ireland. Meanwhile the Irish royalists held out at Limerick, under their gallant leader Sarsfield, and William's attempts to capture the town by assault failed. He, therefore, raised the siege, and in

September, 1690, returned to England, leaving his forces under the direction of the Dutch general, Ginkel.

Connaught and Munster still remained unsubdued, but in June, 1691, Ginkel forced the passage of the Shannon, and captured Athlone. The French commander, St. Ruth, fell back to the hill of Aughrim, where he entrenched himself behind a morass. A desperate struggle was fought between the English and Irish, but St. Ruth was killed, and the Irish were routed with the loss of 6000 men. Sarsfield organised the last resistance at Limerick, but Ginkel was strongly provided with artillery, and the Irish leader therefore agreed to an honourable capitulation. By the Treaty of Limerick (October, 1691), it was agreed that all Irish soldiers who wished should be shipped to France, and an amnesty, together with the privileges enjoyed under Charles II., was guaranteed to all Irish Catholics who took the oath of allegiance.

The Treaty of Limerick was made only to be shamelessly broken. The Protestant ascendancy was re-established in its most odious form, and a century of malignant oppression followed. Under William III., Anne, George I., and George II., a penal code was built up of unexampled cruelty. An Irish Catholic was excluded from Parliament, the corporations, the magistracies, and the juries. He could not enter the University, or act as a schoolmaster, or be the guardian of a child. He was deprived of the right of bequeathing his land by will, and if his eldest son in his lifetime became a Protestant, the latter could prevent him selling or mortgaging his estates. Every Catholic priest had to be registered; the penalty was banishment, and death if he returned. If a priest apostatised he was rewarded with an annuity of £30. All Catholic bishops were banished, and if subsequently found in the country were liable to be hanged, drawn, and quartered. Rewards were offered for the apprehension of bishops and unregistered priests, and the hateful profession of informer was encouraged in every direction.

“It may be possible,” writes a modern historian, “to find in the statute books, both of Protestant and Catholic countries,

laws corresponding to most parts of the Irish penal code, and in some respects surpassing its most atrocious provisions, but it is not the less true that that code, taken as a whole, has a character entirely distinctive. It was directed not against the few but against the many. It was not the persecution of a sect, but the degradation of a nation. It was the instrument employed by a conquering race, supported by a neighbouring power, to crush to the dust the people among whom they were planted. And, indeed, when we remember that the greater part of it was in force for nearly a century, that the victims of its cruelties formed at least three-fourths of the nation . . . and that it was enacted without the provocation of any rebellion, in defiance of a treaty which distinctly guaranteed the Irish Catholics from any further oppression on account of their religion, it may be justly regarded as one of the blackest pages in the history of persecution.”¹

6. The Struggle on the Continent (1689-1697).—

Since 1689 Louis XIV. had been engaged in a struggle with enemies on all sides. He had to defend himself on the south against Spain, and on the east against attacks from Germany, Holland, and the Spanish Netherlands, while his fleets had to meet the combined naval forces of the Dutch and English. The conquest of Ireland enabled William to bring all the resources of England and Holland against France. But in spite of the vastness of the coalition, Louis more than held his own. In 1690 Admiral Tourville defeated the English and Dutch fleet under Torrington, off Beachy Head, and England was threatened with invasion. The French, however, contented themselves with burning the village of Teignmouth, and the danger passed away. In 1692 Louis planned the invasion of England, and gathered a fleet of transports for the expedition, but the English fleet, under Admiral Russell, encountered Tourville off La Hogue, and inflicted a defeat on him which made the invasion impossible.

In the Netherlands the struggle was fiercely contested. Year after year William crossed over to the Continent to

¹ Lecky, "History of England," vol. i. p. 301.

organise the resistance. With all his abilities as a general, he could do little more than hold his own. In 1692 he was defeated by the great French general, Marshal Luxemburg, at Steinkerck, and Namur was taken; and in 1693 another French victory was gained over the allies at Neerwinden. In 1694 an expedition to attack Brest was planned. The scheme was revealed to James by Marlborough, who had been disgraced by William for his treasonable correspondence with his former master. Talmash, the commander, found the French well prepared, and was mortally wounded during the attack. In 1695 the death of Marshal Luxemburg deprived Louis of his greatest strategist, and William was able to retake Namur and capture Marshal Boufflers. The resources of France were now exhausted, and Louis agreed to the Peace of Ryswick (1697). Hitherto his reign had been a series of triumphant aggressions, but at Ryswick he had to purchase a peace by giving up all he had gained on his eastern frontier since the Peace of Nymwegen in 1678, with the exception of Strassburg. It was arranged that the Dutch should garrison the frontier fortresses of the Spanish Netherlands. Louis was compelled to recognise William as King of England.

7. William III. and Parliament (1690-1697).—William was never popular in England. His cold and suspicious demeanour alienated the sympathies of his subjects, and constant ill-health made him withdraw as much as possible from public display. Easy of manner and even light-hearted on the field of battle, and in the face of many reverses, to his ministers and courtiers he showed only the sour and harsh attributes of his character. From his earliest days he had lived in an atmosphere of intrigue, and his experience of English politicians did not prompt him to take a generous view of human nature. The very men who had brought about his accession were willing to betray him. Admiral Russell, Godolphin, the head of the treasury, Marlborough, and Shrewsbury, at one time or another opened negotiations with James. In 1694 Queen Mary, to whom William was warmly attached, died from smallpox, and her loss weakened William's hold

on the feelings of his subjects. Parliament was torn by the party wrangles of Whigs and Tories, and William's ministers intrigued against one another. But about 1693 William adopted an expedient which was destined to have important constitutional results. The unprincipled Sunderland, who had purchased the pardon of William by his desertion of James, suggested the formation of a Cabinet drawn entirely from the Whigs. There thus came into power the famous Whig Junto, composed of Somers, Wharton, Montague, and Admiral Russell. The Tories, Carmarthen, Nottingham, and Godolphin, were gradually removed from office. Reliance on a united Ministry, representing the majority in the Commons, improved William's relations with Parliament, and enabled him to bring the war with France to a successful conclusion.

The heavy financial strain of the war led to another political expedient—the foundation of the Bank of England. A Scotsman named Paterson suggested to Montague the foundation of a bank which should have the exclusive custom of Government, thus practically receiving a Government guarantee of solvency. The result was that in 1694 the Bank of England was founded, and made a loan of a million and a quarter to the Government at 8 per cent. interest. The credit which its connection with the Government gave to the bank soon made it the greatest banking institution in the kingdom. At the same time, it made the moneyed interest a strong supporter of the Revolution settlement, for it was clear that a Jacobite restoration would entail the repudiation of the National Debt contracted by William to resist James and his protector Louis. Montague also improved the system of taxation by a reassessment of the Land Tax in 1692, which greatly increased its yield; and in 1696 the coinage, which was in a very bad state, was called in and a new coinage issued. The Bank of England and the recoinage conferred great benefits on the trading classes.

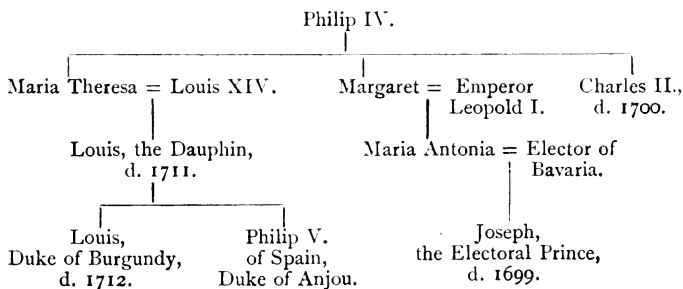
8. The Spanish Succession Question.—Since 1665 Louis XIV. had steadily kept in view the project of placing a Bourbon on the throne of Spain. Charles II., the last of

the Spanish Hapsburgs who succeeded Philip IV. in 1665, was weak both in body and mind, and every statesman in Europe knew that his death would raise an international question of the gravest character. (1) If the succession went to the nearest of kin, then the Dauphin Louis, son of Maria Theresa, eldest sister of Charles II., and wife of Louis XIV., was heir to Spain. Against this, however, was the renunciation of her succession rights made by Maria Theresa at her marriage. The younger sister of Charles II., Margaret, had married the Emperor Leopold I., and their daughter Maria Antonia, the Electress of Bavaria, had a son Joseph, the Electoral Prince. But to prevent the Spanish inheritance being diverted from the Austrian Hapsburgs to the Bavarian House, Leopold had caused his daughter Maria Antonia, on her marriage to the Elector of Bavaria, to renounce her Spanish rights. (2) Putting aside then the claims of the descendants of the sisters of Charles II., the claims of the descendants of his two aunts had to be considered, and here also France and Austria were rivals, for Louis XIV. was the son of Anne, the elder daughter, and Leopold the son of Maria, the younger daughter, of Philip III. Anne, who had married Louis XIII., had renounced her rights, but Maria, the wife of Ferdinand III., had made no renunciation. The French Government refused to recognise the validity of the renunciations made by the two French queens, Anne and Maria Theresa. As the Spanish inheritance included Spain, the Spanish Netherlands, Milan, Naples, Sicily, and Spanish America, both Louis and Leopold knew that Europe would not allow these vast possessions to be annexed to either France or the Empire. Each, therefore, declared his willingness to pass on his claims : Louis designated his grandson Philip of Anjou ; while Leopold ceded his rights to his second son, the Archduke Charles.

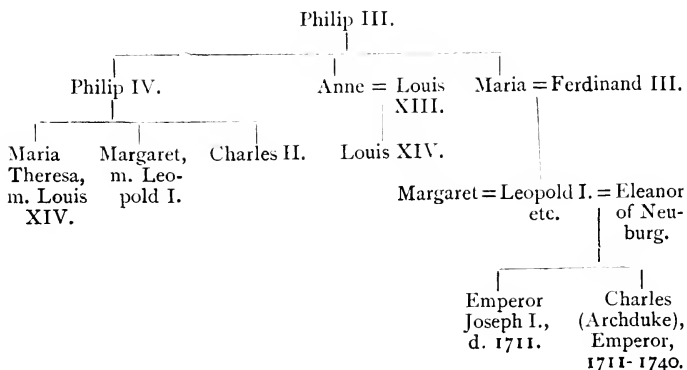
9. The Partition Treaties of 1698 and 1700.—The Peace of Ryswick had been followed in England by a Tory reaction, and William found himself hampered by a powerful Opposition. Parliament forced him to reduce the army from 80,000 to 7000, and his Dutch guards were ordered to leave

THE SPANISH SUCCESSION QUESTION.

I.—THE CLAIM THROUGH THE SISTERS OF CHARLES II. OF SPAIN.



II.—THE CLAIM THROUGH THE AUNTS OF CHARLES II. OF SPAIN.



the country. The Commons appointed a committee to inquire into the royal grants of the Irish lands which had been confiscated. The inquiry revealed some instances of scandalous favouritism, and a Resumption Bill was passed nullifying the grants (1700).

Meanwhile, William had been engaged in negotiating a settlement of the Spanish difficulty on the basis of a partition; and in October, 1698, a treaty was signed at the Hague between England, Holland, and France, by which it was agreed that Spain, the Indies, and the Netherlands were to go to Joseph of Bavaria, Naples and Sicily to France, and the Milanese to the Archduke Charles. The treaty was kept secret, but rumours of it reached Madrid. The Spaniards were justly angered at the attempt to divide their possessions without their being consulted, and Charles II. made a will leaving the whole inheritance to Joseph. The young prince died shortly after, and both the will and the Partition Treaty fell to the ground. A second Partition Treaty was therefore signed in 1700, by which the Archduke Charles was to be King of Spain, the Indies, and the Netherlands; and the French share was to be increased by the Milanese, which was to be exchanged for Lorraine by an arrangement with the duke. Meanwhile, the Marquis d'Harcourt, the French ambassador at Madrid, had cleverly worked on the feelings of the Spanish patriotic party, and had contrived to spread the belief that the Spanish inheritance could only be preserved intact if placed under the protection of France. Charles II. was induced to make a new will, leaving the entire Spanish possessions to Philip of Anjou; if the latter refused, they were to be offered to the Archduke Charles, but in neither case was there to be any partition. Charles died a month later.

Louis now found himself in a position of great perplexity. If he decided to abide by the Partition Treaty, he would see the Archduke Charles proclaimed king at Madrid, and would have to rely on the assistance of his lifelong enemy, William III., to gain the share of the Spanish inheritance which the Partition Treaty guaranteed to him. On the other

hand, to accept the inheritance for his grandson would be a direct challenge to the whole of Europe. After much hesitation he decided to accept the risk of a European war, and Philip was proclaimed King of Spain.

10. The Tory Predominance (1700-1701.)—Louis XIV. had been emboldened to disregard the Partition Treaty because he knew that the Tory majority in Parliament would not consent to another war. To pacify the Tory party William had been obliged to displace some of his Whig ministers, and to give office to the Tories, Rochester, Godolphin, and Hedges (1700). In spite of this the Tories proceeded to impeach the late Whig ministers, Russell, Montague, Somers, and Portland, mainly on account of their share in the Partition Treaties.

In 1700 the death of Anne's last surviving child, the Duke of Gloucester, necessitated a fresh settlement of the succession, and in 1701 the Act of Settlement was passed. This enacted that on the death of Anne the Crown was to pass to Sophia, the Electress of Hanover, and her Protestant descendants. Some constitutional clauses were added which were to come into force with the accession of the House of Hanover. These were : (1) The sovereign was not to leave the kingdom without the consent of Parliament ; (2) the nation should not engage in any war on account of those possessions of the sovereign which did not belong to the English Crown, except with the consent of Parliament ; (3) no alien should be a Privy Councillor, or member of either House of Parliament, or hold any office under the Crown ; (4) no minister of the Crown was to be a member of the Commons ; (5) the Government was to be carried on by the Privy Council, and not by the inner circle or Cabinet ; (6) judges were only to be removed from the Bench on a joint address of both Houses ; (7) a pardon under the Great Seal could not plead as a bar to an impeachment.

Clauses 1, 2, and 3, were intended as slights on William himself, and of these the first was repealed under George I., while under Anne the fourth was repealed, and the fifth modified so as to allow a minister who held an office, created

before 1705, to sit in the Commons, provided that on accepting office he was re-elected by his constituency. This was intended to check the corrupt influence of the Crown over members of the Commons.

II. The Whig Reaction (1701).—On the Continent Louis XIV. seemed able to carry all before him. With the exception of the emperor, Leopold I., the European powers one after the other recognised Philip of Anjou as King of Spain. By pouring his troops into the Spanish Netherlands, Louis was able to surround the Dutch garrisons in the barrier fortresses and coerce Holland into acknowledging Philip. Even William himself, weakened by the attacks of the Tories, had to give way and write a letter of congratulation to Philip. But already there were signs that the Tories had gone too far, and, as the aggressions of France continued, the war party in England revived. William began to negotiate the formation of a Grand Alliance against France and Spain. Even now he was willing that Philip should retain the Spanish Crown, if the claims of the emperor received satisfaction; but all negotiations were broken off by an astonishing act of folly on the part of Louis. On September 6, 1701, James II. died at St. Germain, and Louis at once recognised his son James Edward as King of England. The whole country was roused by this insulting breach of the Treaty of Ryswick. Parliament was dissolved; at the elections a larger number of Whigs were elected, and the Whigs were summoned to office. An Abjuration Act was passed, imposing an oath abjuring the claims of the Pretender on officials in Church and State. Unfortunately, at the moment when his schemes were bearing fruit, William was injured by his horse falling under him, and the shock ended fatally. He died on March 8, 1702, leaving to other hands the task of resisting Louis XIV.

CHIEF EVENTS.

	A. D.
Toleration Act	1689.
Battle of Killiecrankie	1689.
Battle of the Boyne	1690.
Battle of La Hogue	1692.
Bank of England founded	1694.
Death of Queen Mary	1694.
Peace of Ryswick	1697.
Partition Treaties	1698, 1700.
Act of Settlement	1701.



CHAPTER XXXVI.

ANNE (1702-1714).

1. The Grand Alliance.—The accession of Anne, a pious and kind-hearted princess, revived the popularity of the monarchy. The queen was a staunch Anglican, and her sympathies were with the Tories ; but her character was feebly pliant, and her policy easily fell under the influence of those who had gained her affections. For the greater part of her reign she was ruled by her imperious favourite, Sarah Jennings, the wife of Churchill, Earl of Marlborough, with whom she lived on terms of the warmest friendship. Marlborough himself, the real ruler of England, became the leader of the great league against France. As he was a Tory, it was natural that the Tories, Godolphin, Nottingham, and Hedges, should obtain office. But the war with France, the legacy of William III., was a Whig war, and in this fact lay the germs of the ultimate rupture between Marlborough and the queen.

Marlborough at once, as Commander-in-chief, drew together the threads of the Grand Alliance, which comprised the Emperor, England, Prussia, the Elector Palatine, and most of the German States, and was joined in 1703 by Portugal and Savoy. On the Continent the leaders of the coalition were Heinsius, Grand Pensionary of Holland, and Prince Eugene, the Imperial General. The original aim of the powers was to secure a share of the Spanish inheritance for Austria, a barrier against France for Holland, and securities against the union of the French and Spanish Crowns. But the claims of the allies soon became more exacting, and in the end the coalition demanded that the House of Bourbon should retire from Spain. The

war of the Spanish Succession was carried on in four directions: in Italy for the possession of the Milanese, in Germany for the control of the Danube, in the Netherlands to reconquer the barrier fortresses seized by Louis, and in Spain to expel Philip V. The control of the Milanese and the Spanish Netherlands secured to Louis a strong position, and his alliance with the Electors of Bavaria and Cologne gave his armies access to Germany. These advantages, and the indomitable fidelity of his subjects, enabled him for twelve years to defy Europe.

2. Campaigns of 1702-1704.—In Italy the war was indecisive in 1702, but the defection of the Duke of Savoy in 1703 from the French alliance threatened the French hold on the Milanese. The operations in the Low Countries were directed by Marlborough against the chief fortresses of the Spanish Netherlands, and by the end of 1702 he had cut off the French from the Lower Rhine and secured Holland from attack. The Elector of Cologne was expelled from his Electorate. For his services Marlborough was rewarded with the title of duke. In upper Germany the allies suffered reverses. The imperial troops were defeated at Friedlingen by the French general Villars (1702), and at Höchstädt, near Blenheim, by the Elector of Bavaria (1703).

In 1704 Louis prepared to make a great effort to bring the war to a close by striking an overwhelming blow at Austria. His plan was to effect a junction between a large French army and the forces of Bavaria, and then to advance directly on Vienna and dictate terms to Leopold. Marshal Tallard led 15,000 men through the Black Forest, and joined forces with the French and Bavarian troops under the Elector. The emperor saw himself threatened by the Franco-Bavarian army in the west, while at the same time an army of Hungarian rebels advanced on Vienna from the east. To save the emperor, Marlborough determined on a counter-blow, but the plan seemed so dangerous that he only divulged it to Godolphin and Prince Eugene. It was to march south with all the troops that could be spared from the defence of

Holland, to pass by without attacking the enemy's fortresses on his march, and to push through Germany in order to fight the French on the Danube. The Dutch States General were only informed that the intention was to fight a campaign on the Moselle; but when Marlborough reached Coblenz he advanced rapidly south along the Rhine to Mayence, and thence up the Neckar into Würtemberg. He struck the Danube near Ulm, and stormed the hill of Schellenberg overlooking Donauwörth. Shortly after, the Bavarians were reinforced by 25,000 men under Tallard, and Marlborough himself effected a junction with Prince Eugene. The hostile armies came into touch near the village of Blenheim, and here, on August 13, 1704, one of the greatest battles in history was fought. The French and Bavarians were defeated, with a loss of 40,000 men. As a result Vienna was saved, Bavaria was conquered, and the French were driven across the Rhine.

Ten days before the battle of Blenheim an English fleet under Sir George Rooke, after an unsuccessful attack on Barcelona, surprised and captured the fortress of Gibraltar.

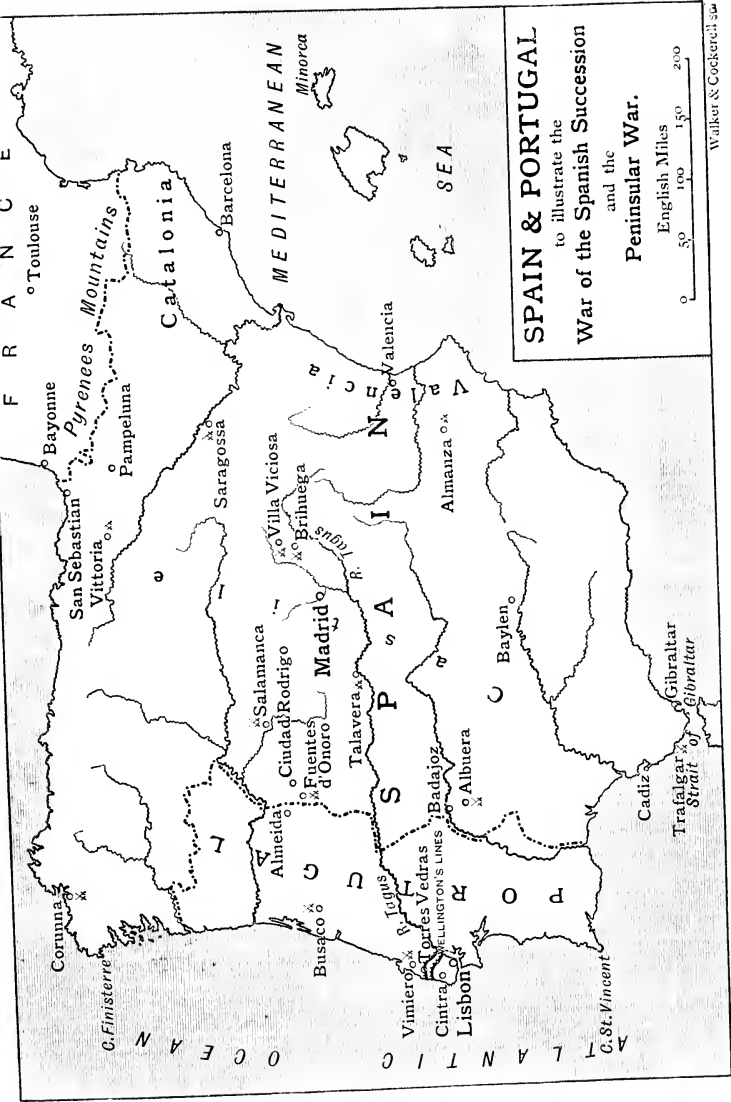
3. The Campaigns of 1705-1706.—Marlborough was constantly hampered by the timidity of the Dutch Government, and this was largely the cause that in 1705 no great engagements were fought in the Netherlands. In Spain, however, Barcelona was captured by a force of English and Austrian troops under Prince George of Hesse-Darmstadt, and the inhabitants of the provinces of Catalonia and Valencia, acknowledged the Archduke Charles as King of Spain. These successes stimulated an attack on Spain from the west, and in 1706 Lord Galway advanced from Portugal and occupied Madrid. This year (1706) was also marked by another great victory won by Marlborough at Ramillies over the French commanded by Villeroi, in which the French lost 15,000 men and all their baggage and artillery. The fruits of the victory were the chief towns in the Spanish Netherlands, Brussels, Ostend, Antwerp, and Ghent, which surrendered in rapid succession. The French frontier now lay open to attack. In Italy also France experienced reverses, for Prince Eugene

forced the French to raise the siege of Turin, and inflicted a severe defeat on them outside the town. The French cause in Italy was ruined.

4. The Disasters of 1707.—In 1706 the French had been driven from Italy and the Netherlands, and Louis had been compelled to offer terms by which Philip was to retire from Spain, if Milan, Naples, Sicily, and Sardinia were guaranteed to him. These terms were rejected by the allies, and the war therefore continued. In 1707, however, the tide turned in favour of France. The allies were forced to retire from Madrid, and the Duke of Berwick, the illegitimate son of James II. and of Marlborough's sister, Arabella Churchill, drove the forces of the Archduke Charles out of Castile, and defeated Galway at Almanza. In Germany also France showed renewed activity, for Villars crossed the Rhine at the head of an army, which defeated the Imperialists at Stolhofen, and devastated the Palatinate. The attempt of Prince Eugene to create a diversion by invading France and by laying siege to Toulon failed disastrously.

5. The Campaign of 1708–1709.—In spite of the successes of 1707 France was now reduced to desperate straits. National bankruptcy was impending, and the burden of taxation fell with crushing weight on the people. But Louis met all difficulties with inflexible courage, and in 1708, by a supreme effort, five armies were sent into the field. A large army under Vendôme was poured into the Spanish Netherlands, and captured Ghent and Bruges. Marlborough hurried after the French, and at Oudenarde, on July 11, 1708, annihilated the greater part of Vendôme's army. He was shortly after joined by the Austrian forces, under the command of Prince Eugene, and the combined armies crossed the French frontier and besieged Lille, which was defended by Marshal Boufflers and 15,000 men. After a gallant defence lasting sixty days, Boufflers surrendered.

The winter of 1708–1709 was terribly severe, and the French people, ground down by taxation, were brought to the verge of starvation. Even Louis felt himself compelled to sue



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for terms. Torcy, minister of foreign affairs, was sent to the Hague to negotiate a peace. The allies demanded the cession of the whole Spanish inheritance to the Archduke Charles, the expulsion of the Pretender from France, the restoration to the Empire of all territories gained since 1648, and a barrier of fortresses for the Dutch. If Philip refused to evacuate Spain, Louis was to join in expelling him. These demands, known as the Preliminaries of the Hague (1709), were transmitted to Louis by Torcy after protracted negotiations had failed to induce the allies to modify their terms.

Louis had not fallen so low as to accept the humiliating conditions offered to him, and in a letter to the governors of the French provinces, he appealed directly to his people. The nation, exhausted though it was, responded with an enthusiasm which frustrated the calculations of the allies. By almost superhuman efforts an army of 100,000 men was sent into the field under Villars and Boufflers to save France from invasion. The allies, on the other hand, were determined to force their way into France, and dictate terms under the walls of Paris. Some formidable fortresses stood in the way, and these it was the object of Villars to defend. Tournay was captured by the allies, and Mons was attacked. If this was captured France would lie open to an invasion, and Villars therefore entrenched himself at Malplaquet. The battle which followed was the most fiercely contested in the war. Both Villars and Eugene were wounded, and it was only after losing 20,000 men that the allies could dislodge the French from their entrenchments. The French only lost half the number, and they were able to retreat in good order from the field. Malplaquet was Marlborough's last great victory.

6. The End of the War (1710-1712).—In the spring of 1710 a conference took place at Gertruydenberg, between French and Dutch representatives. Louis offered to recognise the Archduke Charles as King of Spain and cede a barrier of fortresses to Holland. The Dutch, however, insisted that Louis himself should expel Philip from Spain, and Louis at once refused the insulting condition. Even if Louis had been

willing that Philip should leave Spain, the Spaniards, whose patriotic feelings were now thoroughly aroused, would not have allowed it. After the defeat of the allies at Almanza (1707), reinforcements had arrived under Stanhope and the Austrian general, Stahremberg. In 1710 the Anglo-Austrian army defeated Philip at Saragossa, and the archduke was able to enter Madrid; but the attitude of the inhabitants was so hostile that he found it prudent to withdraw. Louis, to help Philip, sent Vendôme to command the Spanish troops. He attacked Stanhope at Brihuega, and forced him to surrender, and then turning against Stahremberg, fought a battle at Villa Viciosa which was indecisive, but was followed by the retreat of the Austrians into Catalonia.

7. The Whigs and Tories (1702-1710).—At the outset of her reign the queen, as we have seen, had given office to the Tories. But Marlborough saw that it would be unsafe to rely wholly on the Tory party, and a few moderate Whigs were retained. The plan of a mixed Cabinet did not work well, and as the Tory dislike for the war showed itself, Marlborough and Godolphin gradually drew nearer to the Whigs. In 1704 Nottingham and the other High Tories were dismissed, and replaced by the Moderate Tories, Harley and St. John. At the general election of 1705 a Whig majority was returned, and more Whigs were admitted to office at the expense of the Tories. In 1706, Sunderland, the son of the minister of James II., was forced on the queen by the influence of the Duchess of Marlborough and Godolphin, and in 1708 Harley and St. John were deprived of their posts in the Ministry, which now practically became a Whig Cabinet, under the control of the Junto, Somers, Wharton, Russell (now Lord Orford), and Sunderland. Robert Walpole, a young Norfolk squire, became secretary of war. This shifting of the balance of parties was necessary to the plans of Marlborough and Godolphin for the continuance of the war, but it entailed the loss of the queen's favour and their own subjection to the Whigs. Anne was already chafing under the imperious rule of the Duchess of Marlborough, and Harley had seen this, and had found for the

queen a new favourite in his cousin Abigail Hill, who had married Colonel Masham. To make himself independent of party politics, Marlborough asked to be appointed Captain-General for life, but met with a refusal.

The crisis was reached in 1710, when the Whig Ministry decided to impeach Dr. Sacheverell for a foolish sermon upholding the Divine Right of kings. The excitement which the trial caused throughout the country showed the extent to which a Tory reaction had progressed. The country was, in fact, sick of the war, and Marlborough, whose great weakness was a scandalous love of money, was openly accused of prolonging it for his own ends. Anne, secretly encouraged by Harley, plucked up courage to dismiss Sunderland and Godolphin, and after a general election, which returned a Tory majority, a Tory Ministry was formed, with Harley at its head and St. John as secretary of state. Early in 1711 the Duchess of Marlborough was dismissed from Court.

8. The Peace of Utrecht (1713).—Louis XIV. was now safe from the humiliations which in 1710 had seemed inevitable. In 1711 the emperor Joseph I. died, and the Archduke Charles succeeded to the Imperial crown. This profoundly altered the balance of affairs, for the Spanish inheritance in the hands of the emperor would be almost as dangerous to Europe as the rule of a Bourbon prince. Throughout 1711 secret negotiations were carried on between England and France, and these resulted in the Preliminaries of London, by which England gained the advantages she required, and arranged the main outlines of the terms for her allies. When Marlborough returned after a campaign on the French frontiers without any great results, he was dismissed from his command, and charges of financial fraud were brought against him. To crush the opposition of the Whigs in the Lords twelve new Tory peers were created (1711). The Jacobite Duke of Ormond was given the command of the army, with instructions to remain inactive. In January, 1712, the Congress of Utrecht met, and after long negotiations, in which England acted as arbiter between France and the allies, peace was signed in March,

1713. The emperor refused the terms offered, and did not make peace with France till 1714.

By the Peace of Utrecht England received from France, Newfoundland, Nova Scotia, and the Hudson's Bay territories; and from Spain, Gibraltar, Minorca, and the Asiento, or right of supplying negro slaves to the Spanish colonies, together with the right of sending one ship a year to trade with South America. Louis agreed to dismantle Dunkirk and recognise the Protestant succession as arranged by the Act of Settlement (1701). Holland acquired a barrier of fortresses. Philip V. remained king of Spain, and was to cede to the emperor Milan, Naples, Sardinia, and the Spanish Netherlands, while the Duke of Savoy was to have Sicily with the title of king. Philip renounced all rights of succession to the French throne, and the crowns of France and Spain were never to be united.

9. The Union with Scotland (1707).—The union of the English and Scottish Parliaments had been a favourite project of William III., but it had been prevented by mutual jealousies. The Scots were keenly sensitive lest their independence should suffer through English predominance, and the English were not prepared to share their trading privileges with their northern neighbours. The Scots also felt that they had a special grievance in the failure of their great colonial plan, the Darien scheme. This scheme to colonise the isthmus of Panama had been attempted in 1698, but had been a complete failure, and the Scots complained that the interests of the colonists had been sacrificed by William III. to propitiate Spain. In 1702 commissioners had been appointed to negotiate a legislative union, but the scheme broke down, and in 1703 the Scottish Parliament passed the Bill of Security, by which, on the death of Anne, the successor to the Scottish throne should not be the same as the successor in England, unless securities were given for Scotland's freedom, religion, and trade. The English Parliament retorted in 1704 by making all Scotsmen aliens after Christmas 1705, by prohibiting imports from Scotland, and by ordering the border fortresses to be strengthened. Fortunately,

moderate counsels averted a dangerous struggle. In 1706 the commissioners met again, and in 1707 a Treaty of Union was drawn up. It was agreed that there should be one Parliament for the United Kingdom of Great Britain, to which Scotland should send forty-five members of the Commons, and sixteen representative peers chosen by the Scottish peerage. The Presbyterian Church was recognised as the Church of Scotland, and the laws of Scotland were to remain in force. The Scottish national debt was paid off, and the shareholders in the Darien company were indemnified. Scotland and England were to enjoy the same commercial rights. The crosses of St. George of England and St. Andrew of Scotland were combined in the new flag, the "Union Jack," and the arms of England and Scotland were emblazoned on the royal shield.

10. Jacobite Intrigues (1713-1714).—The last two years of Anne's reign were occupied by a struggle over the succession to the throne. Those Tories who still clung to the doctrine of Divine Right were anxious that Anne's half-brother, James Edward, should succeed, and pressure was brought to bear on him to renounce the Catholic faith in return for the prospect of the Crown of England. To this suggestion the Pretender returned an absolute refusal. But there were other Tories, of whom St. John was the chief, who looked at matters solely from the point of view of politics, and viewed with apprehension the possibility of a Hanoverian sovereign bound by the conditions of his accession to favour the Whigs. How far this section of the Tory party was prepared to go in upsetting the Act of Settlement (1701) was not clear, and the question was complicated by the personal jealousies of Harley and St. John. Harley was now lord treasurer, and in 1711 was created Earl of Oxford, while in 1712 St. John was made Viscount Bolingbroke. The treasurer was, however, weak and vacillating, and his second-rate abilities were completely eclipsed by Bolingbroke's brilliant and versatile qualities.

As was usually the case under the Stuarts, the religious question came to the front at a political crisis. In 1711

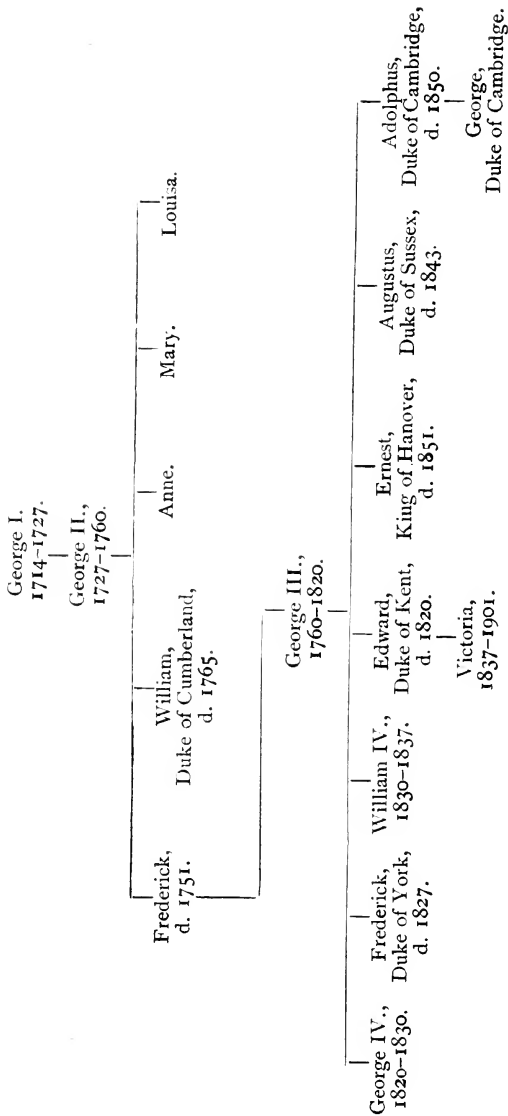
the Tories and Moderate Whigs had joined in passing the Occasional Conformity Act, aimed at those Dissenters who qualified for municipal offices in accordance with the Corporation Act (1661) by conforming to the Church of England. To win over the clergy, Bolingbroke promoted the Schism Act of 1714, which forbade any Dissenter to act as schoolmaster or tutor. This was too much for Oxford, who had been brought up as a Dissenter, and Bolingbroke, through Mrs. Masham, whom he had detached from his rival's side, worked on Anne's High Church sympathies. After a violent altercation in her presence between Oxford and Bolingbroke, Anne dismissed the former from the treasurership.

Bolingbroke was now willing to proceed to revolutionary measures, but on July 30, 1714, three days after Oxford's dismissal, the queen had a fit of apoplexy, and the crisis thus came earlier than the Jacobite section of the Tories had anticipated. When the Cabinet met, the Whig Dukes of Argyle and Somerset insisted on their right as Privy Councillors to attend it. The Cabinet was in theory only an informal gathering of important members of the Privy Council, and apart from the latter it had no legal existence. Bolingbroke was therefore unable to resist the admission of the Whig dukes, and it was proposed that the queen should be asked to appoint the Duke of Shrewsbury, a Tory, who was in favour of the Hanoverian succession, to the office of lord treasurer. The dying queen yielded to the wishes of the councillors, and before her death, two days later, measures had been taken which secured the peaceful accession of George I.

CHIEF EVENTS.

	A.D.
Capture of Gibraltar	1704.
Battle of Blenheim	1704.
Battle of Ramillies	1706.
Union with Scotland	1707.
Battle of Oudenarde	1708.
Battle of Malplaquet	1709.
Dismissal of the Whigs	1710.
Treaty of Utrecht	1713.

THE HANOVERIAN DYNASTY.



CHAPTER XXXVII.

GEORGE I. (1714-1727).

1. The Whig Supremacy.—The peaceful accession of George I. was a triumph for the Whigs and a reassertion of the principles of the Revolution of 1689. A Council of Regency, composed almost entirely of Whigs, ruled the country during the six weeks which elapsed before the arrival of George from Hanover. The king at once gave office to the Whigs, to whose support he owed his throne. Lord Townshend became head of the Ministry, with Halifax, Cowper, Stanhope, and Sir Robert Walpole as his chief supporters. The period of Whig ascendancy, destined to last for forty-six years, thus began. George I., a dull and unattractive man of fifty-four, was chiefly concerned with the interests of his Hanoverian electorate. He was ignorant of English, and his limited mental capacity disqualified him from any understanding of the intricacies of English politics. The possession of the English Crown enhanced his dignity on the Continent, and all he demanded of his ministers was that they should keep England quiet, and secure to him an ample revenue. He was hated by his son, George, Prince of Wales, and he had imprisoned his wife, Sophia Dorothea, on a charge of infidelity. The immorality of his own conduct was as flagrant as that of his Stuart predecessors. Personal loyalty for the sovereign could not live under such sordid and uninspiring conditions, and it practically disappeared as a factor in politics. The monarchy was in reality put into commission in favour of the Whigs, with the important result that supreme executive power was gradually transferred to that group of statesmen who

represented the party with a majority in the Commons. The Cabinet system was thus founded. It was, however, long before the full meaning of the change was clearly understood.

2. The Rebellion of 1715.—The general election of 1715 returned a large Whig majority, but the contest was marked by serious rioting. As a consequence the Riot Act was passed, empowering the magistrates to disperse by force any riotous meeting of more than twelve persons, if it refused to retire when ordered to do so. When Parliament met, Oxford, Bolingbroke, and Ormond were ordered to be impeached. Oxford was imprisoned in the Tower, but the two others fled to the Continent and were attainted by Parliament.

A widespread conspiracy was now set on foot by the Jacobites in England and Scotland. The Hanoverian succession was unpopular in the west of England, and in Scotland dislike of the predominance of the Whigs under the Duke of Argyle, and hatred for the legislative union, brought together factions of very different views in favour of a Stuart restoration. Bolingbroke had relied on the support of Louis XIV., but the death of the French king in 1715 was followed by the regency of Philip of Orleans, who for personal reasons wanted the friendship of the English Government, and therefore refused all help. Too late Bolingbroke tried to prevent a rising, for the Pretender James Edward had ordered the Earl of Mar to raise a rebellion in Scotland. Lord Derwentwater and Thomas Forster, the member for Northumberland, attempted a rising in the north of England, and Ormond landed in Devonshire. In the Highlands the clans opposed to the Campbells rapidly assembled, and the whole country north of the Tay was secured for the Pretender. A detachment was sent across the Border, and joined forces with Forster and Derwentwater. The insurgents then marched into Lancashire, where there were many Catholics, and occupied Preston. Forster, who was in command, proved hopelessly incompetent, and the rebels were easily surrounded by the royal troops and forced to capitulate.

Meanwhile Mar, in spite of the numerical superiority of his forces, had delayed at Perth, expecting the Pretender's arrival, but at last decided to attack Argyle, who defended the line of the Forth with only 3300 men. A battle was fought at Sheriffmuir, north of Stirling, and, although really indecisive, it was regarded by Mar as a defeat for the Jacobite cause. The Pretender, who arrived in December, found that the rebellion had been mismanaged in every direction, and, unfortunately for the Jacobite cause, he showed no capacity as a leader or organiser. With all their chivalrous loyalty, the Highland chieftains could not conceal their disappointment on finding their prince weak, irresolute, and melancholy. The rebellion rapidly collapsed, and in February, 1716, the Pretender and Mar deserted their followers, and retired to France. The punishment inflicted on the rebels was not severe. About thirty, including Lord Derwentwater, were executed, but Forster and several other leaders escaped.

Throughout the crisis the Government had shown great activity, and the failure of the English portion of the conspiracy, especially the prevention of a rising in the west of England, was due to its prompt measures of repression. But the danger was not considered altogether passed, and as a general election, in accordance with the Triennial Act of 1694, would take place in 1717, it was decided that in the disturbed state of the country the elections would endanger the public peace. Parliament therefore passed the Septennial Act (1716), extending the duration of Parliament from three to seven years. The Act had the effect of making the House of Commons less dependent on the House of Lords, and of enabling ministers to pursue a more consistent line of action without the fear of frequent interruption through a general election.

3. Stanhope's Foreign Policy (1717-1720). — The death of Louis XIV. had created a profound change in the relations of France to both England and Spain. Louis XV. was a delicate child of five, and his cousin, the Regent Philip of Orleans, had every prospect of succeeding to the throne,

provided that the Utrecht settlement, which excluded Philip V. of Spain from the succession, was upheld. The Spanish king, on the other hand, under the influence of his wife, Elizabeth Farnese, "the Termagant of Spain," and of his adviser, Cardinal Alberoni, aimed at the destruction of the Treaty of Utrecht. Under Alberoni's guidance a period of revival of Spanish influence was inaugurated. The army and navy were reorganised, and commerce and industry were stimulated by reforms. As part of his policy of upsetting the Utrecht settlement, Alberoni planned the expulsion of Austrian influence from Italy. The effect of Alberoni's attitude was to drive the Regent Orleans to seek an English alliance, and by means of his agent, the Abbé Dubois, an arrangement was agreed upon in 1716, by which England and France guaranteed the Treaty of Utrecht, and the regent undertook to expel the Pretender. The accession of Holland to the treaty in 1717 turned the agreement into a Triple Alliance.

The negotiations had been conducted by George I. and Stanhope during a visit to Hanover, and shortly after, the opposition of Townshend to the subordination of English interests to those of Hanover led to his dismissal from his secretaryship of state. In 1717 Walpole resigned, and took up an attitude of vigorous opposition to the new Ministry of Stanhope and Sunderland. Meanwhile, the danger from Spain continued to threaten the peace of Europe. Alberoni, checked by the Triple Alliance, planned an expedition against England in support of the Stuarts, and enlisted the aid of Charles XII. of Sweden, who had quarrelled with George I. over the latter's acquisition of the duchies of Bremen and Verden. In 1717 Spain declared war on Austria and conquered Sardinia; and in 1718 a Spanish expedition seized Sicily. The emperor Charles VI., at once joined the Triple Alliance, and the four powers agreed to force Spain to withdraw. Admiral Byng was sent to the Mediterranean, and off Cape Passaro destroyed the Spanish fleet. This defeat and the death of Charles XII. shattered Alberoni's plans. The Spanish expedition to support the Pretender was dispersed by a storm in the Bay of Biscay,

and only two ships reached Scotland, and landed a small force, which was easily defeated. Philip of Spain, threatened on all sides, dismissed Alberoni, and accepted the terms offered by the Quadruple Alliance (1720).

4. The Peerage Bill (1719).—Stanhope's rule was marked by a concession to Dissenters, the repeal of the Schism and Occasional Conformity Acts, but the attempt to repeal the Test and Corporation Acts was thwarted by the Church party. Stanhope, however, showed a less liberal spirit in proposing the Peerage Bill, by which no more than six peerages beyond the existing 178 were to be created. Extinct peerages might be replaced by new ones, and the elective peers of Scotland were to give way to twenty-five hereditary peers. The Bill would have turned the House of Lords into a narrow oligarchy, and have removed the only way out of a deadlock between the two Houses, by depriving the Government of the power to threaten a creation of peers sufficient to override the opposition of the Upper House. The Bill was thrown out by the Commons, mainly through the opposition of Walpole. In 1720 Walpole rejoined the Ministry.

5. The South Sea Bubble (1720).—The Treaty of Utrecht (1713) had been followed by a great outburst of commercial activity and financial speculation. In 1711 the South Sea Company had been formed, and had taken over the National Debt of £10,000,000 in exchange for interest secured on the customs, and a promise of a monopoly of the commercial advantages in South America to be obtained from Spain. The company was well managed, and acquired a great and flourishing business. As the National Debt consisted mainly of thirty millions of annuities, the South Sea Company offered to take over the Government's liability by persuading the annuitants to take shares in the company instead of the capitalised value of their annuities. The Government was to pay the company five per cent. interest instead of the seven per cent. paid to the holders of the stock. Further, for the advantage of being the chief creditor of the Government, the company offered seven millions. The plan was accepted by

the Government, and the annuitants agreed to the company's terms. The public rushed to subscribe for the new shares, and a wild burst of speculation followed. The £100 shares of the company rose to £1000, and this success led to the formation of a number of other companies, many of which were fraudulent impostures. A reaction set in as soon as the bubble companies burst, and a financial crisis followed which spread ruin far and wide. The shares of the South Sea Company fell to £135. The Government was fiercely attacked in Parliament. Aislabie, chancellor of the exchequer, was expelled from the Commons for having accepted bribes from the company. Craggs, the postmaster-general, committed suicide, and Stanhope died from the excitement caused by the attacks of his political opponents.

6. Walpole's Ministry (1721-1727).—In 1721 Walpole became first lord of the treasury and chancellor of the exchequer, with Townshend and Carteret as secretaries of state. The rule of Walpole was signalled by financial measures. Already, before his accession to supreme power, he had restored public credit by remitting the seven millions promised by the South Sea Company, and by the confiscation of the property of the directors to pay the company's creditors. In 1722 he began a series of reforms of the export and import duties which fostered commerce, and ended by making the English tariff system the best in Europe. Throughout his career as minister, finance was Walpole's strong point, and as a consequence his foreign policy was steadily on the side of peace. In 1723 the Regent Orleans died, and the Duke of Bourbon became First Minister. A quarrel followed between France and Spain, and Philip V. allied himself with the emperor against France, and planned another attempt to restore the Stuarts. England, France, and Prussia, formed a counter alliance by the Treaty of Hanover, 1725. Some naval fighting took place without important results, and peace was restored by the Preliminaries of Paris (1727).

At home Walpole's predominance was secured. The Whig leaders of Anne's reign, Godolphin, Marlborough, Stanhope,

Sunderland, were dead, and Walpole felt so strong that in 1723 he allowed Bolingbroke to return to England. His great defect was jealousy of his own colleagues, and he gradually expelled from his Ministry every member whose abilities rivalled his own. In 1724 Carteret was dismissed from the secretaryship of state, and in 1725 Walpole quarrelled with Pulteney, the ablest debater in the Commons. Under Pulteney's guidance, and backed by the literary gifts of Bolingbroke, a formidable Opposition was formed. The sudden death of George I., in 1727, and the well-known hostility of the Prince of Wales to Walpole, led the enemies of the minister to expect a summons to power.

CHIEF EVENTS.

	A. D.
Jacobite Rebellion	1715.
Septennial Act	1716.
Battle of Cape Passaro	1718.
South Sea Bubble	1720.

CHAPTER XXXVIII.

GEORGE II. (1727-1760).

(I) WALPOLE AND THE PELHAMS (1727-1756).

I. Character of George II.—Walpole himself announced to George the death of his father, and received from the new king a curt order to wait upon the Speaker, Sir Spencer Compton, who was to be summoned to office. George II., however, was soon made to realise that Walpole was indispensable to the Hanoverian interest; and the latter, by winning over the queen, Caroline of Anspach, secured for himself a renewal of his lease of power.

The character of George II. was marked by a curious combination of sound qualities and petty eccentricities. He had shown some skill and much courage in the campaigns of the Spanish Succession, and in politics he was a shrewd and a loyal master. But he was pompous and fussy in his conduct, and the slave of a life of deadly routine, in which the observance of petty details seemed to him to have a vast importance. His standard of morality was low, and he was meanly avaricious. Fortunately for the country he allowed himself to be guided by his wife, for whose judgment he had a sincere admiration; and it was through the queen that Walpole mainly exercised his influence. "If I have had the merit of giving any good advice to the king," he said to the queen, "all the merit of making him take it, madam, is entirely your own." Walpole and his royal mistress thoroughly understood both each other and the king, and the result was the maintenance of the policy of internal and external peace so necessary to the safety of the new dynasty.

2. Walpole's Rule (1727-1742).—The years of Walpole's supremacy were in keeping with his favourite maxim, "Let sleeping dogs lie." Such reforms as he carried out were those which would not be likely to cause violent opposition. He encouraged the trade of the English colonies by removing some of the restrictions which prevented them from dealing directly with Europe, and his enlightened commercial policy doubled England's export trade. In 1733 he introduced an excise scheme which would have facilitated the collection of the import duties on wine and tobacco, and have discouraged smuggling. But his enemies roused a storm of opposition against Walpole on the ground that a scheme of arbitrary taxation was being prepared, and he wisely abandoned his plans, declaring that he would not be "the minister to enforce taxes at the expense of blood."

In other directions Walpole worked on the same conciliatory and unostentatious lines. Since the accession of George I. the Established Church had been bridled by the appointment of Whig bishops, whose views were in direct opposition to the orthodox reaction, which had been dominant under Charles I. and Charles II. The lower clergy, as a rule, remained Tory in politics and loyal to the High Church doctrines. The result was, that in 1717 a collision took place between the two Houses of Convocation, and the Government therefore silenced Convocation by refusing to allow it to transact business, a suspension of its powers which was maintained till 1850. Before long a decay of religious fervour, and a tendency to indifferentism, became the characteristic of the English Church. With it came, however, a diminution of religious antagonisms, and although Walpole refused to repeal the Test and Corporation Acts, he connived at their practical suspension by passing annual bills of indemnity to shield Dissenters who held offices without fulfilling the necessary conditions of the Corporation Act.

The most serious blot on Walpole's career was the shameless corruption which he practised and reduced to a system. A cynical disbelief in the purity of men's motives was a part

of his coarse nature. Although not himself corrupt, he never scrupled to buy off the opposition of an opponent. He did not create the low standard of political integrity, but he found that he could only keep himself in power by managing Parliament, and gifts of places and pensions were his recognised methods of management.

3. The Fall of Walpole.—In 1737 Walpole's power was shaken by the death of the queen. The Opposition in Parliament grew stronger every year, and now found a powerful support in Frederick, Prince of Wales, whom Walpole had offended. It was skilfully led in Parliament by Pulteney, and was composed of 'Tories and discontented Whigs.

In the end it was Walpole's peace policy which led to his downfall. The concession made by Spain in 1713, by which one English ship a year might trade with the Spanish-American colonies, had been followed by a great extension of English trading in South America, mainly through an evasion of the limitation agreed on. English traders therefore came into collision with the Spanish officials, and wild stories of Spanish cruelty and oppression were repeated throughout the country. Jenkins, an English sailor, roused the bitterest hostility against Spain by asserting, probably without any foundation in fact, that the Spaniards had cut off one of his ears. Pulteney and the Opposition stirred the country to a war fever by accusing Walpole of a cowardly foreign policy, and the latter, to avoid resignation, had to declare war against Spain (1739).

Walpole soon showed that he had no skill to direct a war policy. An expedition was sent to attack the Spanish colonies, and Admiral Vernon captured Porto Bello; but the attack on Carthagená failed. At the general election of 1741 Walpole's majority was reduced to sixteen. Nearly all the skill and eloquence of the Commons was on the side of the "Patriots," as the members of the Opposition called themselves, but Walpole sustained with the utmost courage the attacks of those who in many cases had once been his friends. Early in 1742 he was defeated by a majority of sixteen, and resigned. The king, who had loyally supported his minister throughout

the crisis, accepted his resignation with deep concern. Walpole was raised to the peerage as Lord Orford, and was granted a pension of £4000 a year. Although he continued to be a powerful influence in politics, his long political career was at an end, and he died in 1745; but before his death he had lived to see his old popularity revive and the Opposition, which had overthrown him, hopelessly discredited.

4. The War of the Austrian Succession (1740-1748).

—The coalition of Walpole's enemies soon fell to pieces. Pulteney showed himself incompetent to formulate any policy, and lost all influence by accepting a peerage. The nominal head of the Ministry was Sir Spencer Compton, now Lord Wilmington, who had almost succeeded Walpole in 1727. Several of Walpole's colleagues, the Duke of Newcastle, and his younger brother Henry Pelham, together with Lord Hardwicke, and Yonge, remained in office. The most important change was the appointment of Carteret as secretary for foreign affairs, a diplomatist of great ability, and a favourite of the king on account of his knowledge of German and his acquaintance with Continental politics.

In 1740 the Emperor Charles VI., the former competitor for the Spanish throne, had died, leaving no son to succeed him. Of late years his great aim had been to secure the accession of his daughter, Maria Theresa, to the hereditary dominions of the House of Austria, and he had obtained from most of the European States, including England, a guarantee of the Pragmatic Sanction, as the official settlement of the Austrian succession was called. This secured to Maria Theresa Bohemia, Hungary, and the Milanese. On the emperor's death, however, the young King of Prussia, Frederick II. (the Great), seized the Duchy of Silesia and defeated the Austrians at Mollwitz, and a greedy scramble for the Austrian dominions followed. Charles Albert, the Elector of Bavaria, who claimed the Austrian inheritance, was elected emperor, and Maria Theresa saw herself attacked in Silesia, Bohemia, Belgium, and the Milanese, by a coalition comprising France, Spain, Prussia, Bavaria,

Saxony, and Sardinia. She could only rely on the loyalty of her Hungarian subjects, and on the fidelity of England to the Pragmatic Sanction.

George II., as Elector of Hanover, was deeply concerned in the maintenance of the balance of power in Germany, while Carteret saw in French intervention in Germany the prospect of a struggle which would keep France occupied on the Continent, and leave her colonial dominions open to English attack. Both king and minister therefore were in favour of war nominally, at all events, on behalf of Maria Theresa. At the same time, in order not to expose Hanover to an attack from Prussia, great pressure was put on Maria Theresa to buy off Frederick II. by the cession of Silesia. This was arranged by the Treaty of Berlin (1742), and Frederick withdrew from the war. In June 1743 George II. at the head of an army, composed of English and Hanoverian troops, defeated the French under Marshal de Noailles at Dettingen. Shortly after Carteret's diplomacy succeeded in detaching the King of Sardinia from the anti-Austrian coalition, and by the Treaty of Worms, England, Austria, Holland, Saxony, and Sardinia, agreed to uphold the Pragmatic Sanction. Sardinia received from Austria a part of Lombardy. Bavaria was overrun by Austrian troops, and the Emperor Charles VII. was driven from his hereditary dominions. The French were expelled from Germany.

The successes of Maria Theresa in 1743 caused Frederick II. to have misgivings as to her acquiescence in his retention of Silesia, and in 1744 he renewed the war with Austria and invaded Bohemia. The co-operation of the French, on which he relied, was not forthcoming, and after some preliminary successes he was driven out of Bohemia by the Austrian general, Traun, and forced to retire into Silesia with the loss of 40,000 men. In 1745 the Emperor Charles VII. died, and Maria Theresa's husband, Francis of Tuscany, was elected. Meanwhile Frederick had repelled an Austrian attack on Silesia, and shortly after invaded Saxony, and forced the Elector to submit. Having made the possession of Silesia

secure, he signed the Treaty of Dresden with Maria Theresa by which he recognised her husband as emperor and again withdrew from the war.

Throughout 1744 the English, Dutch, and Austrian forces in Belgium, which formed what was called the Pragmatic Army, remained inactive. But in 1745 the French, under the great general, Marshal Saxe, laid siege to Tournay, and the allies under the Duke of Cumberland came to its relief. Saxe took up a strong position at Fontenoy, and here a desperate battle was fought in which the English and Hanoverians showed superb courage, but were outgeneralled and defeated. The English army was now called home by Jacobite dangers, and France was left free to conquer Belgium and Austria.

5. The Rebellion of 1745.—The failure of England on the Continent in 1744-1745 was partly due to changes in the Ministry. In 1743 Wilmington had died, and Henry Pelham became prime minister. Public opinion was against Carteret's policy, and suspicious lest the interests of England, which were mainly involved in hostility to France, should be sacrificed to support a Hanoverian policy of resistance to the aggrandisement of Prussia. Carteret was also jealous of the ascendancy of the Pelhams, and in 1744 he resigned. Henry Pelham then formed the "Broad Bottom Administration," his aim being to conciliate the different Whig factions by admitting their representatives to offices. Thus William Pitt, Henry Fox, and Lord Chesterfield, were won over, and room in the Ministry was found even for a few Tories. The effect of these changes was that opposition in Parliament almost ceased.

The year 1745 was made memorable for England by the most dangerous attempt ever made to secure a Jacobite restoration. The old Pretender, James Edward, had proved a harmless rival, but his son, Charles Edward, the young Pretender, had all the qualities of courage and personal attractiveness which could appeal effectively on behalf of a fallen cause. In 1744 he was sent by his father to Paris, and an expedition was fitted out to attack England. The fleet was shattered by storms, and the French Government abandoned

the enterprise. Left to his own resources, Charles Edward determined to throw himself on the romantic loyalty of the Highlanders, and in July, 1745, he landed at Moidart, in Inverness-shire, with only seven companions, "the seven men of Moidart." The Highland chieftains were at first unwilling to move, but the personal charm of the young prince soon won adherents, and he was joined by the Camerons and Macdonalds. At Glen Finnan he was proclaimed regent for James Edward by the Marquis of Tullibardine. The English Government had only 3000 troops in Scotland, commanded by Sir John Cope, but it was decided that Cope should at once endeavour to prevent the insurgents entering the central Highlands. His plan, therefore, was to strengthen the garrisons at the three strategic centres, Inverness, Fort Augustus, and Fort William, which held the line of what is now the Caledonian Canal, and to advance into the Highlands to crush the rebellion before it could spread south. Cope, however, found the road to Fort Augustus barred by the enemy, and therefore turned aside towards Inverness. This left the road to Edinburgh unguarded, and Charles Edward at once marched south, entered Perthshire, and pushed on to Edinburgh. He routed two regiments of dragoons in a skirmish outside the capital, called the "Canter of Coltbrigg" from the cowardly flight of the English regulars, and entered Edinburgh. Meanwhile Cope had taken ship at Aberdeen, and landing his army at Dunbar advanced on the capital. A battle was fought at Prestonpans, which, like that of Killiecrankie, was decided by the fierce onrush of the Highlanders. The royal cavalry fled, and the infantry were either cut to pieces or captured. The fight was decided in less than ten minutes, and the fugitive cavalry with Cope fled to Berwick.

Unfortunately for Charles, circumstances did not enable him to invade England at once, and during the delay of six weeks which followed his victory, the English Government was able to recall troops from the Netherlands. Setting out from Edinburgh, the prince eluded Marshal Wade, who was

posted at Newcastle with 10,000 men, and crossing the border near Carlisle, captured the town. Thence he pushed on to Preston and Manchester. On the way he had lost many of his followers by desertion, and as not more than two hundred recruits had been furnished by Jacobite Lancashire, he saw himself with only 4500 men threatened by Wade's army in the rear, while the Duke of Cumberland with 8000 troops was stationed in Staffordshire. With desperate courage Lord George Murray, who directed the prince's army, decided to continue the march south. Cumberland was quickly out-manceuvred, and on December 4 the Jacobite army entered Derby.

London was panic-stricken when the news arrived on "Black Friday." The king prepared to leave for Hanover, and it is said that the Duke of Newcastle was ready to proclaim the Pretender. But the prince's followers were alarmed by the apathy of the English Jacobites, and Charles, yielding to the advice of Murray and the other leaders, ordered a retreat. The invaders fell back pursued by Cumberland, on whom they inflicted a check at Penrith, and crossed the border into Scotland on December 20. They then besieged Stirling, and at Falkirk they routed a force under General Hawley, sent to relieve the town (1746). A fortnight later Cumberland reached Edinburgh, determined to bring the enemy to a decisive battle. In April he was largely reinforced from England, and moving north from Perthshire towards Inverness, he found the rebels stationed at Culloden, south of that town. The Highlanders were ill-provisioned and worn out by the long and desperate campaign, but they fought with heroic courage against great odds. They broke through the first line of the English army, but were thrown into confusion by the fire of the second line, and were driven from the field. Charles, after a series of romantic adventures, took refuge in France.

The pacification of Scotland was entrusted to Cumberland, who earned the well-deserved epithet of "The Butcher," by the atrocities which he inflicted on the vanquished rebels. The

English Government determined to render another rebellion impossible by abolishing the jurisdictions of the chieftains over their clans, and by prohibiting the wearing of the Highland dress. Later on, under Pitt, Highland regiments were raised, and the splendid courage of the Highlanders was thus enlisted on behalf of the English army.

6. The Peace of Aix-la-Chapelle (1748).—In 1746, while the fate of Prince Charles was still unsettled, a political crisis had taken place in England. The Pelhams, finding themselves thwarted by the influence of Carteret, now Earl Granville, wished to give office to William Pitt, who had been the bitter opponent of the subordination of England to Hanoverian interests. Pitt was the grandson of a governor of Madras, and was now thirty-seven years of age. He had distinguished himself amongst the band of young men whom Walpole scoffed at as “the Boys,” treating their appeals to higher motives as mere theatrical claptrap. George II. disliked him for his previous opposition to Carteret, and refused to allow him to be admitted to the Ministry, and the Pelhams therefore resigned. Granville, however, failed to form a Cabinet, and the Pelhams, on returning to power made Pitt paymaster of the forces. Pitt at once brought to public life a high standard of honour and of financial integrity, and his great reputation, together with his splendid powers as an orator, proved a source of strength to the feeble Pelhams.

On the Continent the war waged by France and Spain against Austria had continued, in spite of the exhaustion of both sides. French armies overran Belgium and threatened Holland, while Spain struggled against Austria and Sardinia for the possession of the Milanese. In 1747 the English and Dutch under the Duke of Cumberland, were defeated at Lauffeld by Marshal Saxe. On the other hand, the English fleet under Anson destroyed the French fleet off Cape Finisterre, in Spain. In North America the French possession, the island of Cape Breton, was captured, and Canada was threatened with invasion.

In 1747 Russia, under Elizabeth, the daughter of Peter the Great, decided to intervene on behalf of Austria against France. Moreover, Philip V. of Spain had died, and his successor, Ferdinand VI., favoured peace with England. France, therefore, worn out by her sacrifices in men and money, could sustain the struggle no longer. A congress therefore met at Aix-la-Chapelle in 1748, and preliminaries of peace were signed by England, France, and Holland. England, as in 1712, made terms behind the backs of her allies, and these, whether they were satisfied or not, they had to accept. Austria and Sardinia both protested against English dictation, but were forced to sign the treaty. By the Peace of Aix-la-Chapelle, France and England agreed upon a mutual restitution of conquests. The French restored Belgium to Austria, and Savoy and Nice to Sardinia. The King of Sardinia was confirmed in the possession of that part of Lombardy ceded to him by the Treaty of Worms in 1743, and Silesia was guaranteed to Frederick II. Don Philip, brother to Ferdinand VI. of Spain, received from Austria Parma and Piacenza.

7. Internal Reforms.—The Peace of Aix-la-Chapelle was only a breathing space in the long duel of the eighteenth century between England and France, but the eight years of peace which followed (1748–1755) were a period of quiet prosperity for England, and two important changes were effected. (1) In 1750 Henry Pelham, who carried on the sound financial traditions of Walpole, diminished the strain of the National Debt, which was now £78,000,000, by lowering the rate of interest from 4 to 3 per cent., thus saving £500,000 annually. The new stock consolidated a number of debts into one fund, and for this reason the debt in its new form was called “Consols.” (2) In 1582 the Julian Calendar had been reformed by Pope Gregory XIII. The original calculation made by Julius Cæsar had been slightly erroneous, and a new calculation was therefore made by order of the Pope. This arrangement was adopted by nearly all countries, except England, Russia, and Sweden, which adhered to the “Old Style.” In 1751 the accumulated error of nearly eighteen

centuries amounted to eleven days. Mainly through the influence of Lord Chesterfield the Gregorian Calendar was adopted by England in 1751, and the eleven days, September 3rd to 13th, were omitted. The cry, "Give us back our eleven days," was raised by the ignorant against the Ministry, and was even used as a political war-cry at the elections.

8. John Wesley (1729-1791).—The political apathy of the middle of the eighteenth century found its counterpart in the decay of religion amongst English Protestants. A school of sceptical writers had begun with Bolingbroke, and its influence made itself felt in the disintegration of dogmatic beliefs amongst Churchmen and Dissenters. Many leading Churchmen and Presbyterians practically denied the doctrine of the Trinity, and even amongst the orthodox Protestants religion lost all fervour and vitality. The increasing wealth of the country had been accompanied by no increase in education, and while the Established Church sank into a state of torpor, and her clergy neglected their duties, the populace of the towns was largely given over to the worst forms of vice and degradation.

To meet the terrible evils of the time, a group of young Oxford men, led by John Wesley and George Whitfield, formed a society in 1729 to promote a higher religious life, and the regularity of their conduct, their zeal in attending the services of the Church, and their charitable efforts on behalf of the poor and of criminals, earned for them the nickname of "Methodists." In 1735 John Wesley and his brother Charles, the hymn writer, went as missionaries to Georgia, but meeting with little success there, returned in 1738. Whitfield had, meanwhile, adopted the practice of field preaching, and Wesley, who was most unwilling to appear to separate from the Established Church, felt himself obliged to follow Whitfield's example. In spite of the opposition of the clergy, and the fierce treatment which they received from hostile mobs, the Wesleyan preachers traversed the whole country calling on their hearers to lead a life of repentance. The movement was not without its drawbacks in the shape of outbursts of religious excitement and extravagance, but there can be no doubt that, on the whole,

the Wesleyan preachers did a great work for religion and rescued multitudes from practical heathenism. Almost to the last Wesley endeavoured to prevent a schism from the English Church, and just before his death (1791) declared himself a loyal Churchman, but the rulers of the Church profoundly distrusted the movement, and their hostility drove the Methodists to separate and build churches of their own. Wesley himself was at last compelled to ordain preachers, and thus took a step which made separation inevitable.

CHIEF EVENTS.

	A. D.
Fall of Walpole	1742.
Battle of Dettingen	1743.
Battle of Prestonpans	1745.
Battle of Culloden	1746.
Peace of Aix-la-Chapelle	1748.

CHAPTER XXXIX.

GEORGE II. (1727-1760).

(2) THE CREATION OF THE COLONIAL EMPIRE (1755-1760).

1. The English in America (1583-1756).—Under Elizabeth attempts had been made to colonise North America. In 1583 Sir Humphrey Gilbert settled some colonists in Newfoundland, but he was drowned on the voyage back to England, and the colony died out. Sir Walter Raleigh, Gilbert's half-brother, in 1585 founded the colony of Virginia, but successive bands of colonists failed to establish themselves, and it was not till the foundation of the Virginia Company, in 1607, that the colony was permanently settled. The religious troubles of England, under James I. and Charles I., caused a number of emigrants to leave their native land. In 1620 the *Mayflower* brought a company of Independents, who landed near Cape Cod and founded the settlement of New Plymouth. Further bands of Puritans settled on the east coast of America, and the result was the formation of the New England colonies, Massachusetts, Connecticut, New Hampshire, and Rhode Island. The colonies were founded on the basis of a strict adhesion to Puritanism, and toleration was as foreign to the ideas of the colonists as it was to the Laudian system of conformity from which they had escaped. In 1632 Maryland was founded by a band of Catholic recusants, sent out by Cecil Calvert, the second Lord Baltimore, and the Catholics joined with their Protestant fellow-colonists in proclaiming toleration for religious beliefs. In 1664 the Dutch colony of New Amsterdam became the English colony of New York, and in 1681 the Quaker colony of Pennsylvania was founded. The number of colonies

continued to increase, and by the middle of the eighteenth century there were thirteen colonial states, independent of one another, and only bound together by their bond of allegiance to England and by the ties of race and language. The colonists were ruled by a governor, a council, and a legislative body. The governor was appointed from England and nominated his council, and the legislature was elected by the colonists. Except in the case of Connecticut and Rhode Island, the Crown could veto colonial acts, and litigants could appeal from decisions of the colonial law courts to the English Privy Council. The internal boundary of the colonies to the west was the Alleghany Mountains, and to the north lay the Great Lakes and the St. Lawrence. On the south the Spanish colony of Florida cut off access to the Gulf of Mexico, while west of the Alleghany Mountains and in Canada were a series of scattered French settlements. The population of the English colonies was about a million and a half, whereas the French colonists scarcely numbered a hundred thousand.

At the Peace of Utrecht (1713) England had acquired Nova Scotia, Newfoundland, and Hudson's Bay and Straits, but there were constant boundary disputes, and as a consequence the French began to build a line of forts, which aimed at confining the English colonists to the district east of the Alleghanies, and thus exclude them from the valleys of the Ohio and Mississippi. The chain of fortified forts would also link together the French possessions in Canada and the French colony of Louisiana at the mouth of the Mississippi. The colonists, to prevent themselves from being thus cut off from expanding westwards, formed the Ohio Company, and in 1754 Major George Washington, with 150 Virginian troops, advanced to attack the French Fort Duquesne, which commanded the valley of the Ohio. After defeating a small detachment of the French, Washington had to fall back on Great Meadows, and here he was surrounded by the main body of the French, and was compelled to capitulate. The English Government, in 1755, sent reinforcements under General Braddock, a brave but incompetent commander, who

was drawn into an ambush while leading an expedition against Fort Duquesne, and was killed. Hitherto these attacks had been carried on in spite of the fact that England and France were nominally at peace, but in 1756 England declared war against France, and the American quarrel became part of a world-wide struggle between Great Britain and France.

2. The English in India (1612-1756).—The East India Company was founded by a charter from Elizabeth in 1600, and its charter was renewed by James I. In 1613 the company founded a "factory," or depôt for its trading, at Surat, and obtained privileges from the Great Mogul, the head of the Mahomedan Empire in India. In spite of the opposition of the Portuguese and Dutch, the English company maintained its position, and in 1640 established itself at Fort St. George (Madras) and Fort St. David. In 1662 Catherine of Braganza brought Bombay to Charles II. as part of her dowry, and in 1696 the company built Fort William (Calcutta), on the Hoogly River. In 1707 the Great Mogul Empire ended with the death of Aurungzebe, and the Nawabs, or local viceroys, became practically independent of the feeble successors of Aurungzebe, who ruled at Delhi.

During the eighteenth century the fate of India depended on the result of the colonial rivalry of England and France, and at first it seemed that the French would be successful. Dumas, the governor of the French settlement of Pondicherry, enormously increased the prestige of his countrymen by his skilful intervention in Indian politics. He was succeeded by Dupleix, the greatest of French colonial rulers, and the first to look on India not as a mere market for trade, but as a great empire to be controlled by a European power. During the war of the Austrian Succession, Madras was captured by the French, but restored at the peace of Aix-la-Chapelle (1748).

In spite of the formal peace in Europe, England and France in India remained to all intents and purposes at war. In the disputed succession to the viceroyalty of the Deccan the French and English supported rival pretenders, and the same

course was followed in the question of the lawful successor to the Carnatic. In both cases the French candidate was successful, and Dupleix appeared as the dominant authority in Southern India. To make the succession of Chunda Sahib, the French candidate for the Carnatic, perfectly secure, an army of French and Indian troops besieged the English candidate, Mahommed Ali, in Trichinopoly. An English force from Madras attempted to relieve the town, but was defeated (1751).

It was at this crisis, when English influence in southern India was threatened with extinction, that Robert Clive came to the front. Clive was the son of a Shropshire gentleman, and on account of his unmanageable temper had been sent at the age of eighteen to India as a clerk in the service of the Company. His life at first seemed so unbearable that he attempted suicide, but the opening of the struggle with France gave him at last an outlet for his pent-up energies. He served in the siege of Pondicherry, and had already won a reputation for courage when he was sent with 500 men to save Trichinopoly by attacking Arcot, the capital of the Carnatic. The town was captured by a combination of daring and good fortune, and Clive at once entrenched himself in the citadel. For fifty days the heroic leader held out against an army of 10,000 Indians, under Rajah Sahib, son of Chunda Sahib, and the final assault by the enemy was beaten off. Rajah Sahib retreated, and the success was followed by the defeat of the French at Trichinopoly. This established the authority of the English in the Carnatic. Clive then returned to England to recruit his health, and in 1754 his great rival Dupleix was recalled to France in disgrace. With him perished the prospects of French rule in India.

3. The Beginning of the Seven Years' War.—In 1756 England's colonial war with France was merged in the great European Seven Years' War. Since 1748 a profound change had taken place in the grouping of European powers. Maria Theresa had been bitterly offended by England's conduct in the peace negotiations of 1748, and had never given up

hopes of regaining Silesia, which pressure from England had forced her to cede to Prussia. When, therefore, George II. appealed to Maria Theresa for aid against France, the help was refused. England therefore turned to Prussia, and Frederick II., in spite of his previous alliance with France, agreed to the Convention of Westminster, by which, if Germany was invaded by foreign troops, England and Prussia were to join in expelling them. By this treaty, and by the arrangement to hire troops from other German princes, George II. hoped to secure Hanover from French attack.

In 1754 Henry Pelham died, and his elder brother, the Duke of Newcastle, became prime minister. As the duke was unwilling to nominate either William Pitt or Henry Fox for the leadership of the Commons, he appointed a non-entity, Sir Thomas Robinson. Pitt and Fox, although in the Ministry, combined to make Robinson's position unbearable by overwhelming him with ridicule, and Newcastle had to purchase a peace with Fox by admitting him to the Cabinet. Pitt however refused to hear of subsidies to the German princes, and Newcastle therefore demanded his withdrawal from the Ministry (1755).

The war with France opened disastrously. A French expedition landed in Minorca, and Admiral Byng, who was charged to relieve General Blakeney, the defender of the island, withdrew before a superior French fleet, and Minorca was lost. Byng was tried by a court martial, and shot (1757). Meanwhile, Newcastle had resigned at the end of 1756, and the Duke of Devonshire became prime minister, with Pitt as first secretary of state. But the dislike of George II. for Pitt was so strong that before he was many months in office Pitt was suddenly dismissed by the king, and Devonshire at once resigned. After vainly trying various combinations from which Pitt was to be excluded, a compromise was arranged. Newcastle became nominally prime minister with Pitt as Secretary of State, and Fox as paymaster general. Pitt at once set about vigorous measures. With glowing confidence in his own powers he said, "I can save

the country, and I know that no one else can." Within a few months he had justified his proud assertion by the splendid courage and energy which he diffused in every direction.

4. The War in Europe.—For English interests on the Continent, Pitt's accession to power came none too soon. As Frederick II. said, England "had at last brought forth a *man*." In 1756 a complete revolution had been effected in the political relations of Austria. Hitherto, since the days of Charles V., she had pursued a policy of hostility to France, but now, under the influence of Kaunitz, the great diplomatist who was to guide Austrian policy for forty years, Austria passed from her traditional friendship for England to friendship for France. France and Austria became allies, and formed the centre of a coalition against England and Prussia, which was soon joined by Russia, Saxony, and Sweden. Frederick, in 1756, demanded that Austria should disarm. On receiving a refusal, he poured his troops into Saxony, and in the following year invaded Bohemia. Although victorious in a great battle before Prague, he failed to capture the town, and he was defeated at Kolin. Meanwhile a French army had invaded Hanover, and defeated the Duke of Cumberland at Hastenbeck. By the Convention of Closter-Seven Cumberland agreed to withdraw from Germany, and thus abandoned Hanover to the French (1757).

Pitt at once repudiated the Convention signed by Cumberland, and flinging aside his own opposition to intervention in Germany, determined, as he said, "to conquer America in Germany," that is, to support Prussia against France, because while the French army was engaged on the Continent the English fleet could conquer the French colonies in America and India. Cumberland was superseded by the able Ferdinand of Brunswick. Before the year (1757) was over Frederick had won two great victories at Rossbach and Leuthen. In 1758 Ferdinand drove the French out of Hanover and won a victory at Crefeld, while Frederick routed the Russians at Zorndorf. But Frederick was beaten by the Austrians at

Hochkirch, and on the whole in 1758 neither side could claim the advantage on the Continent.

In 1759 England gained a series of successes by land and sea. Quebec was captured by Wolfe, while Ferdinand of Brunswick won a great victory at Minden. A French squadron sailed from Toulon to join the fleets on the northern coast, but was met by Boscawen off Lagos and annihilated. Three months later Hawke destroyed the Brest fleet off Quiberon, and with the destruction of a third division of the French fleet which had escaped from Dunkirk to attack Ireland, the navy of France ceased to exist. The sea-power had passed into the hands of England, and the commerce and colonies of France lay at her mercy.

5. The Conquest of Canada (1759-1760).—It was characteristic of Pitt that, whenever he could do so, he refused to recognise any qualification for command in the army and navy other than personal merit. Thus in America he recalled the incompetent general Lord Loudoun, and when the latter's successor, Abercrombie, was defeated by the French general, the Marquis of Montcalm, near Ticonderoga (1758), Pitt replaced him by a young officer, General Amherst, with James Wolfe as second in command. In 1759 a plan of campaign was drawn up for the conquest of Canada. Amherst was ordered to attack the French position at Ticonderoga, which commanded the road to Montreal, while Wolfe was to lead an expedition against Quebec, the capital of Canada. The troops under Wolfe were conveyed up the St. Lawrence, and were landed on the island of Orleans below Quebec. Having fortified his position there, he crossed to the mainland at a point east of Quebec, where Montcalm had established himself in an entrenched camp. An attempt to storm the French position failed. Wolfe therefore had recourse to the desperate stratagem of attacking Quebec on the western side, where precipitous cliffs falling to the St. Lawrence, were supposed to make any attack impossible. The English troops were conveyed by night up the St. Lawrence past Quebec, and scaled the Heights of Abraham. When day broke,

Montcalm saw the English drawn up ready for an advance on Quebec. He therefore hastily left his entrenched camp to attack the enemy. The French forces were defeated, but Wolfe was wounded and died in the hour of victory. Montcalm was also mortally wounded, and died the following day. Five days later Quebec surrendered. The capture of Ticonderoga by Amherst completed the successes of the year.

In 1760 the French, taking advantage of the fact that the English fleet had withdrawn from the St. Lawrence, made a gallant attempt to recover Quebec. A force under De Lévis sailed down the St. Lawrence and landed above Quebec. The English commander Murray attacked the French on the Heights of Abraham, and was defeated. De Lévis thereupon began the siege of the town, but the arrival of the English fleet forced him to raise the siege. A combined attack was then made by Amherst and Murray on Montreal, and with the surrender of the town, the whole of Canada became an English possession.

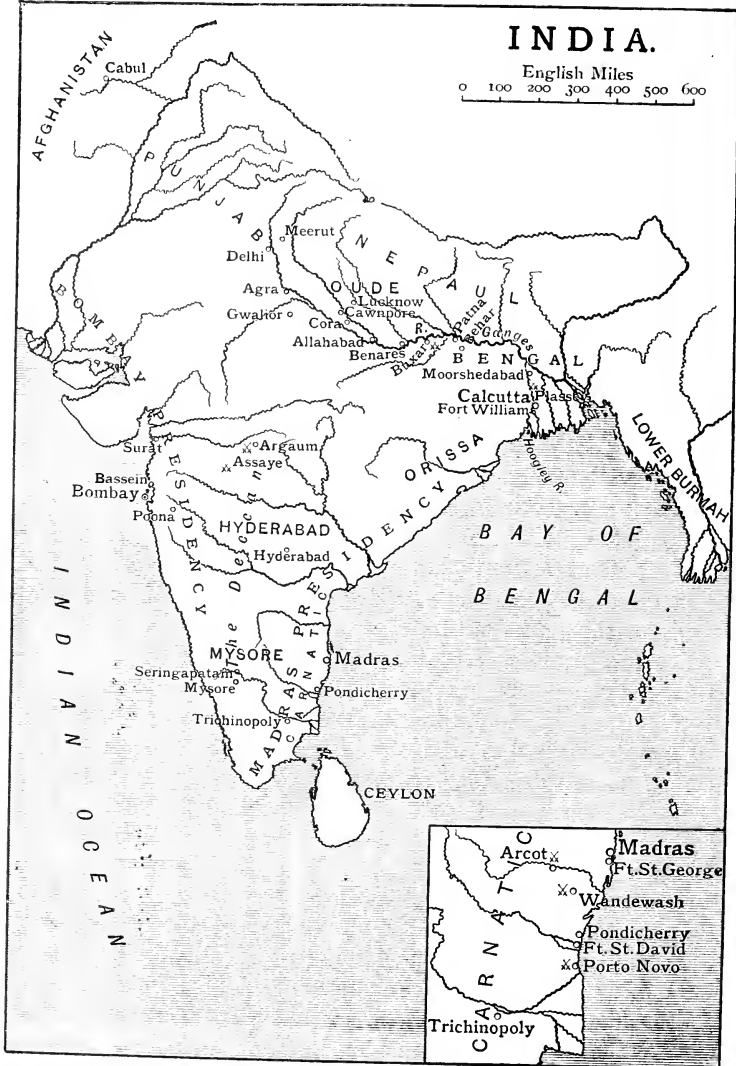
6. The British Supremacy in India (1757-1760).—

In 1756 Clive returned to India as governor of Fort St. David. On reaching Madras he was met by the news that Surajah Dowlah, the Nawab of Bengal, had seized Fort William and Calcutta, and shut up 146 prisoners in a small dungeon in which 123, after appalling sufferings, had died of suffocation. Clive determined to avenge the tragedy of the "Black Hole," as it was called. After recapturing Calcutta, he advanced on the Nabob's capital, Moorshedabad, with 3000 men. On June 23, 1757, Clive encountered Surajah Dowlah's army of 60,000 troops at Plassey, and in spite of the overwhelming numbers inflicted a crushing defeat on the Nabob. Meer Jaffir, who had betrayed his master, Surajah Dowlah, was made Nawab of Bengal, but the victory of Plassey had made the country practically an English possession. Surajah Dowlah was captured by his successor, and strangled in prison.

While Clive was completing the conquest of Bengal, the French were making a great effort to regain their influence in the Carnatic. In 1758 Count Lally, after seizing Fort St.

INDIA.

English Miles
0 100 200 300 400 500 600



Walker & Cockerell sc.

David, laid siege to Madras, but was forced by the arrival of the English squadron to give up the attempt. In 1760 Clive returned to England, but an able general, Colonel Eyre Coote, was sent to India, and in 1760 won a great victory over the French at Wandewash. In 1761 Pondicherry surrendered, and the scheme for a French empire in India, which Dupleix had conceived and had tried with such skill to realise, was finally shattered.

7. The Death of George II.—Great Britain had never stood higher in the councils of Europe than in the closing years of the reign. An unparalleled series of triumphs in Europe, America, and India, shed lustre on her admirals and generals, and on the great statesman who guided her destinies. Pitt was absolute master of the House of Commons; party questions had ceased to exist, and with the king and nation at his back, he controlled the vast resources of Great Britain. George II. is no heroic figure in history, but he was a loyal master to those who gained his confidence, and the great influence which his support gave to Pitt was realized when the old king's death was followed by a revolution in English policy at home and abroad.

CHIEF EVENTS.

	A.D.
Beginning of the Seven Years' War . . .	1756.
Battle of Plassey	1757.
Formation of the Newcastle-Pitt Ministry .	1757.
Battle of Minden	1759.
Capture of Quebec	1759.
Naval victories off Lagos and Quiberon Bay	1759.
Battle of Wandewash	1760.

CHAPTER XL.

GEORGE III. (1760-1820).

(1) THE OVERTHROW OF THE WHIGS AND THE LOSS OF THE AMERICAN COLONIES (1760-1783).

1. The Accession of George III.—The personal influence of the Crown had greatly diminished since 1714, partly through the fact that the first two Hanoverian kings were foreigners in language and interests, and partly because by the conditions of their rule in England they were bound to the Whigs, the party whose views were opposed to the prerogative. Moreover, since the death of Anne, the sovereign had ceased to preside over the Cabinet, and the office of prime minister, as developed by Walpole and his successors, tended to lessen the sphere of the royal influence in directing affairs. But with the accession of George III., a young man of twenty-two, a great revival of the royal influence was destined to take place. George III. had been born and brought up in England, and, as he told his first Parliament, “ he gloried in the name of Briton.” He came to the throne determined to be a king in fact and not merely in name, and to establish his influence by breaking through the ring of great Whig families, who had monopolised power for forty-six years. The failure of the Jacobite cause in 1745 had been too complete for any danger to arise from that quarter, and the Tories, weary of their exclusion from office, were willing to make their peace with the young Hanoverian king, and bring to his service the high views of the prerogative which they had always upheld. While, therefore, the Newcastle-Pitt Ministry remained in power, a party was formed, soon

known as the "king's friends," which was largely Tory, and bound to support the king's views in Parliament, even, if necessary, against the Ministry. The party was directed by Lord Bute, a narrow-minded Scottish peer, whom George insisted on introducing into the Ministry as secretary of state.

2. The Peace of Paris (1763).—In 1759 Frederick II. of Prussia had continued his struggle against desperate odds with unflinching courage, but with almost unvaried ill-fortune. He was defeated by the Russians at Kunersdorf, and driven out of Saxony by the Austrians. At Maxen 12,000 Prussians were surrounded by the Austrians, and forced to capitulate. Had it not been for the successes of Ferdinand of Brunswick in western Germany against the French, and the great victory at Minden, Frederick must have succumbed to his enemies.

As both sides were now weary of the war, Prussia and England suggested a congress of European powers to settle all disputes, and negotiations with France were opened by Pitt in 1761. The terms demanded by England were, however, exorbitant, and Pitt proved all the more unyielding because he suspected that France was secretly urging Spain to attack England. In this he was correct, for the Family Compact between the Bourbons in France and Spain had already been signed, and Spain had bound herself to declare war against England unless peace was made with France before 1762. Pitt therefore advocated an immediate declaration of war against Spain, and a descent on the Spanish colonies, but finding himself opposed by the other ministers, he resigned. He weakened his hold on popular affection by accepting a peerage for his wife and a pension of £3,000 a year, gifts from the Crown, which ardent admirers of Pitt could not reconcile with the well-known disinterestedness of the "great commoner." The Duke of Newcastle remained nominally prime minister, but the direction of affairs was in reality assumed by Bute.

The justification of Pitt's policy was soon furnished by the conduct of Spain, and even Bute was compelled to demand explanations from the Spanish Government with reference to

its relations with France. These were preremptorily refused, and England declared war. As Spanish troops attacked Portugal, England's ally, an English army was sent to Lisbon, and joined in expelling the Spaniards. At the same time the English fleets conquered Martinique from the French, and Havanah from the Spaniards (1762). In the East Indies, Manilla, the capital of the Philippines, was captured. Thus, although Pitt had resigned, the spirit he had inspired did not cease with his retirement. To Bute, however, the victories seemed so many obstacles to peace. He had now got rid of Newcastle, and as the undisputed head of the Government, he was able to carry out his policy of peace with France and Spain at the price of deserting Prussia. In 1763 the Peace of Paris was signed, by which England restored Guadaloupe and Martinique to France, and Havanah to Spain. France gave up Canada, and the island of Cape Breton, and all territories east of the Mississippi. Spain ceded Florida to England. The French West Indian islands, St. Vincent, Tobago, Grenada, and Dominique were ceded to England, and France restored Minorca. In India the French trading centres were given back, but these were not to be garrisoned. Both England and France agreed to withdraw their troops from Germany.

Thus, for the third time in the eighteenth century, England deserted a continental alliance to which she was pledged, and retired from war after securing her own interests. Fortunately for Frederick II., the death of his great enemy, the Tsarina Elizabeth, led to the accession of his friend, Peter III., with whom he at once made peace. Sweden followed suit, and Austria alone was no match for Frederick. The Seven Years' War in Germany came to an end with the Peace of Hubertsburg, by which Austria tacitly agreed to share her supremacy in Germany with Prussia.

3. The Quarrel with Wilkes (1763).—The Peace of Paris was bitterly attacked in Parliament, and a majority for the Government was only obtained by open bribery. A policy of proscription was therefore adopted against the great Whig

leaders. The Duke of Devonshire was struck off the Privy Council, and the Marquis of Rockingham and the Duke of Newcastle were dismissed from their lord-lieutenancies. All parliamentary placemen who opposed the peace lost their offices. But in spite of his majority, Bute found himself so unpopular in the country that he resigned, and George Grenville, Pitt's brother-in-law, became prime minister (1763). Grenville was an able but narrow-minded lawyer, and the king soon found that his minister had no idea of being the pliant instrument of the royal policy. The new Ministry was, however, strengthened by the accession of the Duke of Bedford, and of the section of the Whigs who followed him, and thus contrived to last for two years. As the king could not have his own way, he completed the organisation of his followers in the Commons, knowing that the "king's friends" could always turn the scale against the Ministry if he chose to order them to do so.

In 1763 Grenville came into collision with John Wilkes, a man of great ability, but of a profligate character. Wilkes, who was member for Aylesbury, published an attack on the king's speech to Parliament in his paper the *North Briton*. A general warrant was issued against "authors, printers, and publishers" of No. 45 of the *North Briton*, and Wilkes was arrested. He pleaded his privilege as a member of Parliament, and was liberated by Chief Justice Pratt. He then brought an action against Wood, under-secretary of state, who had carried out the warrant, and obtained damages. Finally, with reference to these proceedings, Lord Mansfield declared it illegal to issue a general warrant. Meanwhile Parliament had expelled Wilkes on the ground that No. 45 was a "false, scandalous, and malicious libel," and that such libels were not covered by privilege of Parliament. Wilkes retired to Paris, where he posed as a martyr to the tyranny of king and Parliament. In his absence he was outlawed.

4. The Taxation of America (1765).—A far more momentous struggle was entered upon by the Grenville Ministry in 1765 by the attempt to tax the American colonies. Shrewd observers, Montcalm amongst them, had

predicted that the conquest of Canada, by destroying the dependence of the colonists on England for protection against France, would be followed by the secession of the American colonies. Their predictions were soon verified. The main causes of quarrel were two in number.

(1) In the eighteenth century, the colonies, in accordance with the policy known as the Mercantile System, were looked upon mainly as markets for English wares, or as sources of products which England wanted to sell to European countries, and the selfishness of this policy was naturally galling to the colonies whose economic development it hampered. In practice, however, the laws which prohibited the colonies from trading directly with other countries were evaded by a system of smuggling, which was carried out on a large scale with the connivance of the Custom-house officials. A large trade thus grew up with the French West Indies and the Spanish colonies in South America, which was, unlike ordinary smuggling, in the hands of responsible firms, and could claim at least a tacit sanction for its existence. Hitherto English statesmen had paid little attention to colonial administration, but to Grenville's legal mind the evasions of the trading laws were altogether repugnant. To put down smuggling, the Custom-house service in the colonies was reorganised with strict orders to suppress illicit trading, and English war-ships were stationed off the coasts to assist the revenue officers. In 1764 Grenville passed an act laying new duties on a number of articles imported into the colonies from the French, Spanish, and Portuguese colonies, and in the preamble of the act the right of England to tax the colonies was clearly stated.

(2) Grenville's second measure, the Stamp Act (1765), was closely connected with his commercial policy and on its behalf a good deal could be urged with justice. England had incurred an enormous debt in order to drive the French from Canada, and to enable the colonies to expand westwards to the Mississippi, and it seemed only fair that the colonies in future should bear some of the burden of maintaining the British troops permanently allotted to their defence. There

was, moreover, no central power in the colonies to raise a contribution from the colonies individually, and their mutual jealousies prevented them from co-operating. If, therefore, the difficulty was to be met, it must be solved by Parliament, and for this purpose Grenville in 1765 passed the Stamp Act levying a stamp duty on legal documents. It was expected to bring in £100,000 annually, and this sum was to be spent in the colonies for their defence. The legal right of Parliament to levy such a tax could scarcely be denied, but as in the case of the struggle between Charles I. and Parliament, the question could not be argued merely on grounds of legality, and it was inevitable that Americans should confront the argument drawn from legality with the maxim that there should be no taxation without the consent of the tax-payers through their representatives. It was true that this maxim was only in theory observed in Great Britain, because Parliament was elected by a small minority (about one-tenth) of the tax-payers. But at any rate it was the Parliament of Great Britain legislating for the people with whom it was in touch, whereas to the American colonists taxation imposed by Parliament was the act of an assembly 3000 miles away, profoundly ignorant of their interests, and beyond the range of their political influence. The agents of the colonies in vain warned Grenville against the dangers he was incurring, for the Stamp Act was passed by Parliament practically unopposed. Nine colonies at once protested against it, and a riot at Boston, in which the newly built Stamp Office was destroyed, showed that the colonists would not tamely submit.

5. The Rockingham Ministry (1765-1766).—George III. from the first had chafed at the independent attitude of Grenville, but as Pitt refused office, he had been forced to put up with Grenville's continuance in power. In 1765, however, the king determined to fall back on another section of the Whigs, and having got rid of Grenville, he gave office to the Marquis of Rockingham and the Dukes of Newcastle and Grafton. General Conway, whom George had dismissed from the army for his opposition in Parliament, became Leader of the Commons.

The formation of the new Ministry was therefore a rebuff for the king's policy, and in defiance of his wishes Rockingham repealed the Stamp Act (1766). At the same time a Declaratory Act affirmed the right of Parliament to legislate for the colonies "in all cases whatsoever." The repeal was supported by Pitt, who said, in answer to Grenville, "I rejoice that America has resisted. Three millions of people so dead to all the feelings of liberty as voluntarily to submit to be slaves, would have been fit instruments to make slaves of the rest." The American trade, he pointed out, brought annually two millions profit to England, and it was folly to risk this for the proceeds of the Stamp Act. With the repeal of the obnoxious Act, the agitation in America at once subsided. Unfortunately, after a year in office, the Rockingham Ministry was dismissed, and before long the quarrel with the colonies was renewed.

6. The Grafton Ministry (1766-1770).—The new Ministry was headed by the Duke of Grafton, but Pitt was the guiding spirit, and his great popularity in England and America opened a prospect of a permanent reconciliation between the mother country and her colonies. But Pitt accepted the title of Earl of Chatham and thereby lost popularity, and ill-health soon compelled him to withdraw from politics. His plans for an alliance with Russia and Prussia against France and Spain, for the assumption of the sovereignty of India, and for the better government of Ireland, were all dropped. Worse than this, Grafton, a feeble and indolent politician, allowed Charles Townshend, the chancellor of the exchequer, to raise again the whole question of the taxation of America by a paltry tax on tea, glass, and paper, to be applied for colonial purposes (1767). Townshend died shortly after, and was succeeded by the king's favourite, Lord North, who was an upholder of the policy of the Stamp Act. The Ministry was remodelled, and the Bedford Whigs joined it. The growing irritation in America only increased the anger in England, and the Ministry prepared to meet American insubordination by coercion.

The Grafton Ministry, having repeated one of the great blunders of Grenville, proceeded to repeat the second by

reviving the contest with Wilkes. In 1768 Wilkes was elected for Middlesex, but was arrested and sentenced to two years' imprisonment. He published an attack on Lord Weymouth, secretary of war, and for so doing was expelled from the House. He was twice re-elected by the electors of Middlesex ; on each occasion the House refused to allow him to sit, and at last ordered his opponent, Colonel Luttrell, who had received 300 votes against 1100 recorded for Wilkes, to take the seat. The decision raised vehement opposition both in Parliament and in the country.

The Ministry was now hopelessly discredited. Chatham had definitely resigned, and Grafton thus lost the prestige of his tacit support. In 1769 the "Letters of Junius" began to appear in the *Public Advertiser*. Their authorship, although with strong presumption ascribed to Sir Philip Francis, has never been cleared up. They were, however, the work of some one who had access to information of first-rate importance, and the skill and knowledge shown in the fierce attacks of Junius on leading statesmen produced a profound sensation. In 1770 Chatham, who had returned to politics, attacked the Government on its policy towards America and its treatment of Wilkes, and Grafton resigned.

7. Events leading to the Declaration of Independence (1770-1776).—The Opposition was too much divided to form a ministry, and George skilfully utilised its dissensions to raise Lord North to the position of prime minister. George had now freed himself from the ascendancy of the "Revolution Families," and with the support of the Tories and of those Whigs whom he had won over, he now began a period of personal rule such as no sovereign had attempted since the Revolution. Lord North, an able statesman of the second rank, relying on the king and following the royal dictates, was able to maintain himself in power for twelve years. The immense patronage of the Crown, exercised in the gift of offices and pensions, was wielded by the king to secure a majority in the Commons. George watched the debates with the keenness of an old parliamentarian, and distributed his

favours and rebukes in accordance with the conduct of its members. "The power of the Crown," as Burke truly said in 1770, "almost dead and rotten as Prerogative, has grown up anew, with much more strength, and far less odium, under the name of Influence." In America events were soon moving swiftly towards a catastrophe. North remitted all the new taxes except the nominal duty of threepence per pound on tea, which was retained as an assertion of the right of Parliament to tax the colonies. The tax on tea was in reality a concession to America, for it was to be levied in America instead of the tax of twelve pence per pound paid in England, before the tea was re-exported to the colonies. But in the angry state of public opinion in America every act of the home Government was bitterly resented. In 1773 three ships laden with tea sailed into Boston Harbour, and a party of men, disguised as Indians, and directed by responsible leaders of American opinion, boarded the ships, and threw the cargo into the sea. All attempt to punish the rioters was frustrated by the magistrates.

To this act of defiance, the English Government and Parliament replied by closing the port of Boston to commerce, and by suspending the constitution of Massachusetts (1774). Gage, the governor of Massachusetts, at once dissolved the colonial assembly, but its members met at Concord and set up a rival government. Virginia and the other colonies threw in their lot with Massachusetts, and a Congress met at Philadelphia, which issued a Declaration of Rights, and denounced the encroachments of the Mother-country. In England the feeling against the colonies made war inevitable. In 1775 Governor Gage decided to destroy the military stores collected by order of the assembly at Concord. The soldiers were fired on by some colonial militiamen at Lexington, and on their return, after destroying the stores, they were attacked and lost nearly 300 men. The first blow had thus been struck, and Congress, recognising the fact that war had begun, appointed George Washington commander-in-chief. Before he took command, another battle had been fought at Bunker Hill, outside Charleston, near Boston. The colonial troops had

occupied the rising ground commanding the town, and they were only driven from their entrenchments after fierce fighting, in which the English lost 800 men. As Gage failed to follow up his victory, Washington was given time to organise his troops and to blockade Boston.

A final attempt at conciliation was made by Congress in 1775, when a petition, known as the "Olive Branch Petition," was sent to the king. George III., however, acting with the support of the majority of the nation, refused to receive the petition, and Congress, in 1776, issued the Declaration of Independence. Only war could now settle the question at issue.

8. The Campaign of 1776-1777.—General Howe, who had succeeded Gage in 1775, removed his troops to Long Island, in the State of New York. The Americans were defeated at the battle of Brooklyn, and fell back on Philadelphia. New York was occupied by the English troops. In 1777 Howe defeated Washington at Brandywine Creek, conquered New Jersey, and occupied Philadelphia. Meanwhile, General Burgoyne had been ordered to lead an army from Canada down the valley of the Hudson River, and after forming a junction with General Clinton's army from New York, the combined force was to attack the New England States from the rear. The movement was a complete failure, and Burgoyne was surrounded at Saratoga and forced to capitulate.

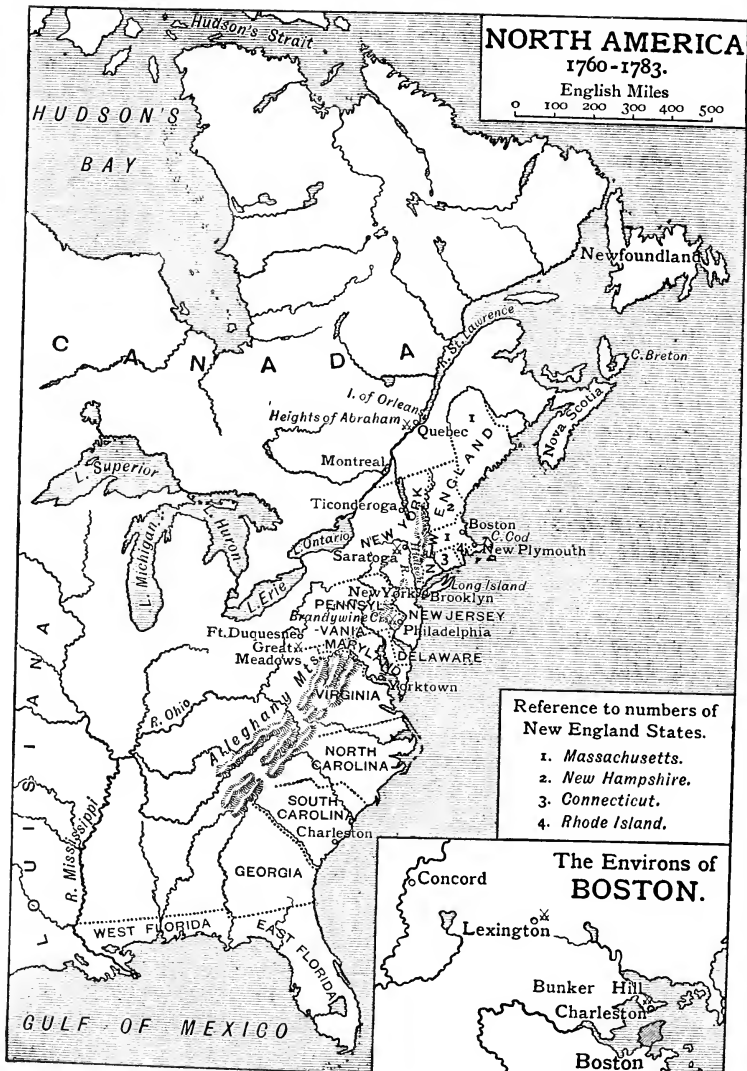
The news of the disaster at Saratoga raised hopes in France of vengeance on England for the humiliations of the Seven Years' War. In 1777 Lafayette with some French troops joined Washington, and in 1778 France recognised the independence of the colonies. In 1778 war with France broke out, and Spain, true to the "Family Compact," declared war against England in 1779. In the following year Holland refused to allow the English claim to seize goods belonging to French owners which were carried by Dutch ships, and as England would not give way, war with Holland followed. England, with the larger part of her army in America, had now to face a European coalition without a single ally. The intervention of France and Spain had made the task of conquering America impossible.

NORTH AMERICA

1760-1783.

English Miles

0 100 200 300 400 500



Reference to numbers of
New England States.

1. Massachusetts.
2. New Hampshire.
3. Connecticut.
4. Rhode Island.

The Environs of BOSTON.

Concord

Lexington

Bunker Hill
Charleston

Boston

Walker & Cockerell sc.

9. The Death of Chatham (1778).—If it had been possible for Chatham to take office, as he had done in 1757, England might have been saved from a terrible crisis. Chatham was willing to grant all the colonists asked short of independence, and his great name and lifelong fidelity to the principles of free government would have secured a fair hearing from America for his proposals of reconciliation. But George III. was determined not to summon Chatham to power, and forced North to continue in office, although the minister knew that the king's policy was doomed to failure. Chatham, however, did not live to see the humiliations of the next few years. On April 7, 1778, he was carried down to the House of Lords to oppose the proposal of the Duke of Richmond to recognise American Independence. He was able to make a speech in which, with something of his old eloquence, he protested against the dismemberment of the monarchy and submission to the House of Bourbon. But the effort was too much for him, and he was brought home in a dying condition. He died on May 11, and with him died the last hope of reconciliation with the colonies. North, too late, offered to negotiate on the basis of the widest concessions to America. The revolted colonists refused to treat, unless the English fleet and army were at once withdrawn.

10. The Campaigns of 1778–1781.—In spite of French help the revolted colonists were still far from success. In 1778 Clinton, who had succeeded Howe, retired from Philadelphia to New York, and an expedition was sent south to occupy Georgia, in which, as in other southern colonies, there were many loyalists. During 1779 the English forces remained on the defensive; but in 1780 Charleston, the capital of South Carolina, was captured, and Clinton set himself to conquer North Carolina and Virginia. In 1781, however, the tide of success turned, and the crowning disaster of the war in America was inflicted on British arms when Lord Cornwallis was surrounded at Yorktown, in Virginia, and surrendered with his whole army. The struggle to conquer America was now practically at an end.

At sea England still maintained much of her prestige. Rodney defeated the Spanish fleet off Cape St. Vincent, and thus saved Gibraltar and Minorca (1780). But when the Dutch fleet was added to that of France and Spain, the naval resources of England were unequal to the strain. The French captured all the English West Indian Islands except Jamaica, Barbados, and Antigua, and in 1782 Minorca was taken by the Spaniards. The command of the sea seemed to have passed out of English hands, for English admirals were unable to challenge even the fleets of France.

11. The Irish Volunteers (1778-1782).—The religious grievances of Ireland (p. 332) were not the only wrong inflicted on that country by her subjection to England, for in matters of industry and commerce her interests were sacrificed to the same selfish policy which led to the revolt of the American colonies. Navigation laws excluded her from trading directly with the English colonies, and with the Continent, and with the exception of the linen industry, her manufactures were crushed lest they should compete with English producers. The example of America, however, encouraged a spirit of resistance to the oppressive conduct of England. As all the available troops in Ireland had been sent to America, volunteer corps were raised all over the country. In 1779 the Irish Parliament, on the motion of Henry Grattan, the great Irish leader and orator, passed a resolution demanding freedom of trade, and North, realising the impossibility of resisting Irish demands when backed by 50,000 volunteers, granted to Ireland the right to trade with the colonies and the Continent. Grattan then demanded the repeal of Poyning's Act (1494), and of the Act of George I. (1719), which declared the right of the English Parliament to make laws for Ireland. This demand was granted by North's successors in the Rockingham Ministry, and Irish legislative independence was secured (1782). It should be noted that these demands were made by an Irish Parliament, of which the members were exclusively Protestant.

12. The Gordon Riots (1780).—In 1700 an Act had been passed which rendered a priest liable to imprisonment for

life for saying Mass, and gave £100 to any informer who procured his conviction. The Act, like most of the penal acts against Catholics, was only spasmodically enforced, and the judges did their utmost to check prosecutions by discrediting the evidence of informers who tried to earn a living as "priest-catchers." In 1767 a priest, named Malony, was sentenced to perpetual imprisonment, but was released by the Government after being in prison two years, and banished. In 1778 Sir George Savile obtained the passing of a Catholic Relief Act which repealed the Act of 1700. The Bill was passed practically unopposed, but in the country it roused wild opposition. The agitation began in Scotland, and riots broke out in Edinburgh and Glasgow, where the houses of Catholics were destroyed, and Protestants, who were known to sympathise with the Relief Act, were attacked. The Government therefore gave up the intention of passing a similar Act for Scotland. The excitement soon spread to England, and, under Lord George Gordon, a Protestant Association was formed to procure the repeal of the Relief Act. An enormous mob marched to Westminster shouting "No Popery" and brutally insulted members of both Houses who had favoured the Act. Gordon, as a member of the Commons, presented the petition for repeal. The mob then proceeded to wreck Catholic chapels, and plunder the houses of Catholics. From Friday till the following Wednesday London was at the mercy of a mob of incendiary scoundrels. Savile's house was wrecked, Newgate prison was broken up and burnt, Lord Mansfield's house was destroyed. The magistrates seemed paralysed by fear, and the mob proceeded to plunder and rob almost unmolested. The king, however, declared that if other magistrates were afraid to do their duty, he would lead the soldiers himself against the mob. The result was an order to the soldiers to fire on the rioters if they refused to disperse, and the riot was put down after 500 had been killed or wounded. Lord George Gordon was tried for treason, but acquitted, as he had not instigated the outrages or taken part in them.

13. The Peace of Versailles (1783).—Throughout the

later years of Lord North's Ministry the opposition of the Whigs had been incessant. The Rockingham Whigs, led by Burke, demanded Economic Reform, that is the destruction of the corrupt influence of the Crown, exercised by gifts of pensions and places, while the Chatham Whigs, led by Lord Shelburne, were in favour of Parliamentary Reform. In 1780 Dunning carried a motion that "the power of the Crown has increased, is increasing, and ought to be diminished." George III. still refused to give up Lord North. The news of the surrender of Cornwallis at Yorktown (1781) proved, however, the death-blow of the Ministry. North resigned, and Rockingham for the second time became prime minister (1782).

The Whig Ministry at once stopped operations in America, and negotiations were begun for a peace. For this the Americans, whose resources were almost exhausted, were as eager as the Whig ministers. The war with France, Spain, and Holland, still continued, and ended with the revival of England's naval glory. Rodney, in April 1782, defeated the French fleet off St. Lucia, and in the following autumn Lord Howe succeeded in relieving Gibraltar, which had been besieged by the French and Spaniards, by land and by sea, since 1779. These successes caused the allies to listen to reasonable terms of peace, and, in 1783, the Peace of Versailles was signed. England recognised the independence of the United States, and ceded Minorca and Florida to Spain, and Tobago and Senegal to France, but received back the other possessions she had lost.

14. The Struggle between the King and the Whigs (1783-1784).—Rockingham had died before peace was signed; but his Ministry had lasted long enough to strike several blows at the corrupt influence of the Crown by passing the Civil List Act (1782), abolishing a number of sinecure offices, and other acts forbidding Government contractors to sit in the Commons, and disfranchising revenue officers. The long contest with Wilkes was also brought to a conclusion. Wilkes had been elected in 1774, and had taken his seat unopposed. In 1782 the proceedings against him were

expunged from the journals of the House, "as subversive of the rights of the whole body of electors."

Rockingham was succeeded as prime minister by Lord Shelburne, whereupon Burke and Charles James Fox, son of Henry Fox, Chatham's rival, at once resigned and went into opposition. Shelburne appointed William Pitt, Chatham's second son, to be chancellor of the exchequer. When Parliament met, a coalition was formed between North and Fox, and the Government was defeated. The king, after struggling in vain for thirty-seven days to form an alternative Ministry, was compelled to accept Fox and North as secretaries of state in a coalition Ministry, headed by the Duke of Portland. Public opinion was outraged by this alliance between North, who had led the nation into the disastrous American War, and Fox, who had denounced North in the most furious language as guilty of "unexampled treachery and falsehood," and had declared, in 1778, that an alliance with North was "an idea too monstrous to be admitted for a moment."

In 1783 Fox brought forward an India Bill, designed to transfer all political power from the Company to the Crown. Seven directors were to be appointed, in the first instance by Parliament, and after that by the Crown, to exercise political power in India. This would have given to the Coalition the control of the vast patronage of India, and have enabled it to strengthen its hold on power by its disposal of the spoils of office amongst its followers. The Bill passed the Commons in spite of the opposition of the king's party. When it came before the Lords, George authorised Lord Temple in writing to say that he would regard as an enemy any peer who voted for the Bill. The result was the rejection of the Bill, and ministers were at once dismissed.

Three days later it was announced that William Pitt, a young man of twenty-four, had accepted office as prime minister. He was supported by the few Chatham Whigs who survived and by the Tories, but his following was in a minority, and his appearance in the Commons was greeted

with shouts of derision. Fox and his party expected an easy victory and a speedy return to power. A furious contest followed between Pitt and the majority, which the youthful prime minister sustained almost single-handed. Votes of non-confidence were passed, but Pitt refused to resign, and George declined to dismiss his minister. Gradually, however, as the feeling in the country showed itself on the side of the king and Pitt, the hostile majority dwindled, and on the last resolution against the Government it fell to one. The coalition was manifestly beaten, and Parliament was dissolved. At the elections 160 of Fox's followers were defeated, and Pitt returned to Parliament with an enormous majority.

The long struggle between the king and the Whigs had at last ended with the triumph of the king. The royal power had suffered an eclipse under George I. and George II., and after a period of revival under Lord North had been threatened by the Rockingham ministry and by the Portland Coalition. Henceforward for fifty years the revival of the influence of the Crown was secured, and it was believed that a minister who had the confidence of the king could always command a majority in Parliament. Fifty years of exclusion from power had to pass before the Whigs were again called on to direct the affairs of the nation.

CHIEF EVENTS.

	A. D.
Resignation of Pitt	1761.
Peace of Paris	1763.
The Stamp Act	1765.
Lord North's Ministry	1770-1782.
Declaration of Independence	1776.
Battle of Brandywine	1777.
The Surrender at Saratoga	1777.
Death of Chatham	1778.
The Surrender at York town	1781.
Peace of Versailles	1783.

CHAPTER XLI.

GEORGE III. (1760-1820).

(2) WILLIAM PITT AS A PEACE MINISTER (1784-1793).

1. Character of Pitt.—At the age of twenty-five Pitt was placed in a position of power such as no other statesman before or since has occupied. By his eloquence, skill, and confidence, he had met and overthrown a coalition supported by the splendid abilities of Burke, Fox, Sheridan, and Erskine, and for nearly eighteen years he was supreme in Parliament and in the country. He had learnt the arts of the orator from his father, and he could strike with ease almost any note in the scale of eloquence. “No one knew better how to turn and retort arguments, to seize in a moment on a weak point or an unguarded phrase, to evade issues which it was not convenient to press too closely, to conceal if necessary his sentiments and his intentions under a cloud of vague, brilliant, and imposing verbiage. Without either the fire, passion, imagination, or histrionic power of his father, he could entrance the House by his sustained and lofty declamation or invective, and he employed with terrible effect the weapon of cutting sarcasm and the tone of freezing contempt” (Lecky). Added to this he was unswerving in his devotion to public affairs, and his disregard of the solid rewards of office was so great that when he died he was overwhelmed in debt. He rewarded his followers by a lavish creation of peerages, but for him titles had no attraction, and he refused the king’s offer of the Garter. Partly from a proud fastidiousness, and partly from weakness

of health, he held himself aloof from any attempt to win the boisterous popularity which a statesman of his powers could easily have achieved. To the king, as well as to his colleagues in office, and his opponents in Parliament, he showed a cold and inaccessible demeanour, which extorted respect but did not inspire affection.

2. Pitt's Domestic Policy.—Pitt, from the first, endeavoured to diffuse throughout the public service the high standard of efficiency and integrity which he followed himself. The system of direct bribery ceased entirely at his accession to power. The economical reforms for the purification of public life, which Rockingham and Burke had inaugurated, were completed. At the beginning of his administration, Pitt found the nation's resources seriously embarrassed. The National Debt had reached £200,000,000, and the deficit on the year was three millions. The public credit was so low that Consols stood at 57. The public accounts were badly kept, and the revenue from customs was largely reduced by frauds and smuggling. Out of this chaos Pitt evolved order. Smuggling was put down by increased vigilance on the part of the customs-officers, and by reductions in the import duties, which made smuggling much less lucrative. A system of audit was set up, which struck at the corruption so widely prevalent in public offices. Pitt, moreover, had closely studied "The Wealth of Nations," the great work of Adam Smith, published in 1776, in which the doctrines of Free Trade were stated with a skill and a mastery of detail which made a profound impression on contemporaries. He endeavoured to promote free trade with Ireland, and his commercial treaty with France (1786) was a measure which anticipated the policy of Huskisson, Peel, and Gladstone. By these wise measures the deficit was turned into a surplus, and arrangements were made for the reduction of the debt.

In other directions his views were equally enlightened, although much less was achieved. Some attempts at Parliamentary reform were made, but were dropped owing to the resistance of the king, and the general apathy on the subject; and

for the same reasons, although Pitt strongly sympathised with Wilberforce's efforts to abolish the slave trade, he refused to stake the existence of his Ministry on the question of its abolition. As a consequence of his inaction the trade in slaves to the English colonies more than doubled during his administration. It was not till 1805, at the end of his life, that Pitt issued an Order in Council, checking the iniquitous traffic in human lives.

3. India (1760-1773).—With the victory of Wandewash (1760), the future of India passed into the keeping of Great Britain. The Dutch, Portuguese, and French dominions, shrank to mere centres of trade, and English authority planted in Bengal, in the Carnatic, and at Bombay, could spread from those centres into the heart of the great Indian peninsula. The Government was thus brought face to face with a series of intricate problems arising from its relations to Indian rulers. Many of them were under its protection, and it became urgently necessary to enforce a higher standard of efficiency in ruling than was customary under oriental despotisms. Thus in 1760 it became imperative to remove Meer Jaffir, whom Clive had set up, and place Meer Kassim on the throne of Bengal. The new Nawab, however, soon rebelled against English authority, and by massacring 200 Europeans at Patna drew upon himself the vengeance of the Government. He fled to Sujah Dowlah, Nawab of Oude, and the two Nawabs concerted measures against the English. In 1764 their army was routed by Major Munro at Buxar, and the victory made the English masters of north-eastern India.

In 1765 Clive returned to India with almost absolute powers, in order to reform the administration of the company's affairs in Bengal. The Great Mogul, Shah Alam, was at this time a mere puppet ruler in the hands of Sujah Dowlah, but Clive found it convenient to recognise his authority, and an arrangement was made by which the Company was to administer the provinces of Bengal, Orissa, and Behar, and pay subsidies to Shah Alam and the Nawab of Bengal. Clive also introduced reforms in the payment of the company's European servants,

and stopped the practice of private trading by which they had supplemented their pay.

In 1767 Clive left India, and the evils he had tried to combat revived. The English rule in India was discredited by the quarrels amongst the directors at home, and by the corruption of many of the Company's servants. In 1770 Bengal was devastated by a famine, and the Company was brought to the verge of ruin. Parliament therefore intervened, and in 1773 Lord North's "Regulating Act" was passed, which reorganised the government in India. A supreme court of justice was set up for the three Presidencies, and the Governor of Bengal was made Governor-General of India. Warren Hastings, who had become Governor of Bengal in 1772, was appointed by Parliament to be the first Governor-General. During the discussion of this scheme Clive's conduct had been censured, although at the same time his great services were formally acknowledged. Clive bitterly resented the treatment he received, and in 1774, at the age of forty-nine, he put an end to his life.

4. Warren Hastings (1773-1785).—North's Regulating Act transferred a large share of the political control of Indian affairs to the Crown, but it placed Hastings in the position of having to satisfy the Company's demands for large dividends, and at the same time carry on a policy of which the home Government approved. He was, moreover, severely hampered by the opposition in his Council, organised by Philip Francis. Some of his first acts were to remove all native officials, and to carry out reforms in the administration of justice and the collection of taxes, which made the British administration a model of sound government. These measures roused bitter opposition, and Francis, with two of the other new councillors appointed by Parliament in 1773, supported Nuncomar, the great Hindoo banker, in accusing Hastings of accepting a bribe to screen Reza Khan, the dismissed minister of finance. Hastings retorted by a charge of forgery against Nuncomar, and the latter was tried and condemned to death by Chief Justice Impey. The sentence was severe, but the charge against

Hastings and Impey of contriving a judicial murder has been disproved.

On the north-western frontier of Bengal the policy of Hastings was able but unscrupulous. Pressed incessantly for money by the Company, he tried to raise it by indefensible means. He deprived Shah Alam of Allahabad and Cora, which Clive had ceded, and sold them to the Nawab of Oude, and for a large sum he allowed the Nawab to use British troops to crush an Afghan tribe, the Rohillas. He deposed Cheyte Singh, the Rajah of Benares, for refusing to pay tribute, and extorted a million from the Begums of Oude, the grandmother and mother of the reigning Nawab (1782). But in the Bombay and Madras Presidencies Hastings achieved success without staining his reputation. The Bombay Government was threatened by the Mahratta War, caused by its attempt to set up a friendly ruler as Peishwa of Poona. The army of the Presidency was defeated, but Hastings sent an army across India from Bengal, which defeated the Mahrattas. In 1780 the great stronghold, Gwalior, was captured. Meanwhile in Madras the rise of a Mahomedan adventurer, Hyder Ali, endangered British rule in the Carnatic. Hyder Ali had made himself master of Mysore, and, urged on by French agents, invaded the Carnatic, and ravaged the country as far as Madras. Hastings ordered the veteran general, Sir Eyre Coote, the victor of Wandewash, to attack Hyder Ali, and after a fierce encounter a great victory was won at Porto Novo (1781). In 1782 Hyder Ali died, and in the following year Hastings made peace with his successor, Tippoo Sultan. In 1785 Hastings returned to England to meet his enemies at home.

4. Pitt's Indian Policy.—In 1781 Parliament had ordered an inquiry into the affairs of India, and when the Portland Coalition came into power, Fox brought forward the India Bill, which wrecked the Government (1783). Pitt's India Bill (1784) established a Board of Control, which was to direct the political affairs of India, leaving all business matters with the Company. The Company was to appoint all officials, but the nomination to the highest posts required the assent of

the Crown. On his return to England Hastings was called upon to answer a series of charges, in which the hand of his enemy Francis could be traced. The Whigs, led by Fox and Burke, demanded his impeachment, and Pitt supported the charge. The great trial began in 1788, and was marked by splendid rhetoric on the part of Fox, Burke, and Sheridan; but public interest evaporated when proceedings dragged on for six years, and in the end Hastings was acquitted.

In 1790 Cornwallis, the new Governor-General, was drawn into a war with Tippoo Sultan of Mysore. An alliance was formed with the Nizam of Hyderabad and the Mahratta chieftains, and in 1792 Cornwallis invaded Mysore and besieged the capital Seringapatam. Tippoo sued for peace, which was granted at the price of half of his dominions.

5. The Industrial Revolution.—The last quarter of the eighteenth century was marked by profound changes of economic conditions, which made England the greatest manufacturing and commercial power in the world. Hitherto the English had not been fertile in inventions, for all the great improvements in agriculture and manufactures had been introduced by the arrival of foreign settlers, or by imitation of foreign methods. The Flemish weavers, under Edward III., had taught England the manufacture of cloth, and the Dutch, who fled from Alva in Elizabeth's reign, introduced the lighter fabrics, or "new draperies." In agriculture the use of turnips and other root crops was imported from Holland. But in the eighteenth century a great outburst of inventive power took place, which transformed England from an agricultural country with an export trade in woollen goods, hardware, and raw materials, into a country which supplied the markets of the world. In every industry improvements were effected by the introduction of machinery. Coal came into use instead of charcoal for smelting iron, and great improvements were made by James Watt in the machinery driven by steam. Arkwright's "water frame," Hargreave's "spinning jenny," and Crompton's "mule," were inventions which revolutionised the manufacture of cotton goods and cloth, while the foundations were laid of the great

iron industries of South Wales and other districts where coal and iron were found close together. Concurrently with those inventions, great agricultural changes were brought about, which largely increased the productive powers of the soil. The system of scattered strips, known as the "three field system," was swept away by the spread of enclosures, which created large holdings on which labour could be more economically employed. Waste lands were brought under cultivation, and better methods of farming were taught by the writings of Arthur Young. Roads were improved, and the great canal system was inaugurated by the Duke of Bridgewater's canal from the coal-fields of Worsley to Manchester.

These rapid changes were not effected without serious suffering. The spread of machinery destroyed the old domestic industries of spinning and weaving, and the small tenant-farmer, to whom these were an important source of subsistence, was severely crippled. Population increased enormously during the last two decades of the century, and the old centres were deserted for new towns in the north, where the great industries were flourishing. In many instances the conditions of labour in the mills were bad, and terrible suffering was inflicted on the children who were sent to work in the factories. The problem of the treatment of the poor assumed an aspect more threatening than it had ever been before, and the startling contrast between vast wealth and degraded poverty roused bitter class hatred between employers and employed. But with all these drawbacks the great accession of wealth was of supreme importance. Without it England could never have subsidised Europe to carry on the struggle against France, and it was the wealth, that the Industrial Revolution created for England, which enabled her to carry on the prolonged struggle against the French Revolution and the ascendancy of Napoleon.

CHIEF EVENTS.

	A. D.
Pitt's India Bill	1784.
Impeachment of Warren Hastings. . .	1788-1795.

CHAPTER XLII.

GEORGE III. (1760–1820).

(3) THE WAR OF THE FRENCH REVOLUTION (1793–1802).

1. The French Revolution (1789).—In May, 1789, Louis XVI. summoned the States General, which had not met since 1614, and a new era in the world's history began. The changes which the Revolution was destined to bring about had been long prepared, and the action of the French king only furnished the occasion for the inevitable explosion. The French monarchy had reached its zenith under Louis XIV., under whose rule the centralised monarchy, which Richelieu and Mazarin had done so much to fashion, gathered all the threads of the national life into its hands. The nobles, once the turbulent enemies of the royal power, were stripped of their governments, and retaining their feudal privileges, sank into a court nobility. The Church was fettered by the "Gallican Liberties," which restricted her intercourse with the Papacy, and subjected her to the royal despotism. In every department, the Church, the army, the legal profession, the claims of noble birth, were carried to a pitch of absurdity. The peasant, ground down by the oppressions of the feudal system, found himself at every point confronted by the pretensions of an aristocracy which did little to justify its position of privilege.

The eighteenth century was, above all, an age which prided itself on its enlightenment. A sceptical philosophy, of which Voltaire and the Encyclopedists were the exponents, exercised its corrosive influence on all beliefs which seemed to fail in answering at once the peremptory challenge of reason and

common sense. The cultured classes throughout Europe abandoned the beliefs and ideals of their forefathers to follow the teaching of Voltaire and Rousseau, and left the practice of religion to the humbler orders of society. Moreover, the eighteenth century was a period in which rulers proclaimed it a duty to watch over the happiness of their peoples. Several of the sovereigns of Europe, the Emperor Joseph II., Catherine II. of Russia, and Frederick the Great, aimed at a philosophical despotism under which their subjects should enjoy every blessing and comfort. In France it became the fashion to descant on the sufferings of the people, and to blame the monarchy for its failures. Under Louis XVI. a policy of sweeping reforms was attempted by Turgot at the beginning of the reign, and, subsequently, financial improvements were projected by Necker. But these attempts only roused illusory hopes, for no minister was strong enough to resist the opposition of the Court party, whose interests were bound up with the maintenance of the old system of financial mismanagement and extravagance.

The final cause of the Revolution was, however, the failure of the monarchy to achieve the task it had undertaken. Louis XV., incapable and vicious, allowed himself to be ruled by his favourites and mistresses, while Louis XVI., although personally upright and pious, had none of the qualities required for a ruler in troublous times. The whole government, the smallest details of provincial administration, ultimately centred in the king and his ministers, and the monarchy proved unequal to the task. Moreover, the Crown, since the accession of Louis XIII., had never seriously attempted the reform of the finances, and the result was a chaos which, by 1786, had brought the nation to the verge of bankruptcy. At the last moment the Crown turned to the privileged classes to stave off disaster, and asked the nobles to give up their exemptions from taxation. With a strange blindness to the dangers ahead the "privilégiés" refused their help, and nobles and lawyers combined to resist the royal policy.

To escape from the deadlock all parties turned to the States

General. The Assembly met on May 5, 1789, and in a few weeks the Ancien Régime had been swept away. On July 14, the Bastille was stormed. On August 4 and 5 all feudal rights and privileges were abolished; and on October 6 the king and queen were forcibly brought to Paris by the mob. The National Assembly, as it now called itself, set to work on a new constitution, by which the power of the Crown and Ministry was reduced to a minimum. The old provincial divisions were abolished, and eighty-three departments were created. Revolutionary changes in the organisation of the Church were also made. A number of archbishoprics and bishoprics were swept away, and by the "Constitution Civile" of the clergy the authority of the Pope was practically abolished. The clergy were required to take an oath to observe the new order of things. Louis XVI. looked helplessly on while France thus cut herself adrift from all her traditions. He had already been deserted by his brothers, the Comte de Provence and the Comte d'Artois, who, with a number of nobles, fled to Germany or Italy, and endeavoured to enlist the foreign Powers on their side. On June 20, 1791, the king and queen escaped from Paris, but were stopped at Varennes and brought back.

2. Europe and the Revolution (1789-1793).—The great Powers were at first too much absorbed in their own intrigues to realise the menacing character of the Revolution. Prussia, under Frederick William II., was scheming against Austria and Russia, while Prussia and Austria were eagerly intent on plans to carry out a second partition of Poland. The Emperor Leopold II. was the brother of Marie Antoinette, Queen of France, and felt some solicitude for the fate of his sister. But he was forced to order the *émigrés*, who were organising hostilities against the Revolution, to keep quiet, and he strove to avoid any appearance of intervention in the affairs of France, which would only have led to the overthrow of the monarchy. As, however, the extreme section of the Revolutionists, the Girondists, came to the front, his attitude changed. In 1791, on the news of the flight to Varennes, he invited

Europe to intervene, and although this was withdrawn when Louis declared himself free, the threat deeply angered the extremists. Henceforward, the tension between Austria and France steadily increased, and the emperor, in consequence, drew near to Prussia. In 1791 the two sovereigns issued the Declaration of Pilnitz, stating their willingness to restore order in France if supported by the other Powers. As it was certain that England would not agree to intervention, the declaration meant nothing, and it only served to rouse deep suspicion in France.

A new Assembly was elected in 1791, and in it the Girondist party, which wanted war with Austria, came to the front. Francis II., who succeeded his father, Leopold, in 1792, was ready to face a war with France. He therefore refused to accept the insulting ultimatum sent by the Girondists, and in April, 1792, France declared war.

The war opened badly for France, for Austrian and Prussian troops crossed the frontiers, and the Parisian mob, mad with suspicion against the king, stormed the Tuileries and overthrew the new constitution. A National Convention met and proclaimed a republic, and while Dumouriez defeated the allies at Valmy, the Jacobins, a section of revolutionists, more advanced than the Girondists, carried out the "September Massacres" in Paris against all persons suspected of disloyalty to the Republic. The armies of the Republic swept over the borders into Belgium, Germany, Switzerland, and Savoy. Everywhere the French were welcomed by the inhabitants, and by order of the Convention the sovereignty of the people was everywhere proclaimed. Meanwhile, Louis XVI. was tried and condemned to death. In January, 1793, his execution took place.

3. England and the Revolution (1789-1793).—Public opinion in England was at first divided on the subject of the Revolution. On the one hand, a large party welcomed the Revolution, in the belief that France was about to copy the English Revolution of 1689, and establish a constitutional monarchy; and this view was fostered by the fact that, in the

early days of the Revolution, statesmen like Mirabeau made frequent appeals to English precedents. Hence Fox declared that the taking of the Bastille was "the greatest event that ever happened in the world and how much the best." On the other hand, there were cool observers who saw in the advancing tide of anarchy in France a great opening for English interests. France had supported a revolution in America against England, and England could now retaliate in kind by taking advantage of the disorganisation of France in order to push her fortunes. This aspect of the Revolution was also understood in France, and "English gold" was erroneously believed to be at the bottom of the internal troubles of France.

The attitude of Pitt was characteristically cautious. Intent on the financial reforms he had achieved, he, above all things wanted peace. In his great budget speech of 1792, he looked forward to fifteen years of quiet development for Great Britain, and he insisted that it was not for Englishmen to interfere in the internal affairs of France. But as the Revolution passed rapidly into a phase of violent mob-rule, English opinion underwent a change, and a spirit of hostility to all political changes developed. In 1790 Burke published his "Reflections on the French Revolution," which gave voice to the sympathies and fears of thousands of Englishmen. The English defenders of the French Revolution, moreover, had alarmed public opinion by a reckless parade of their sentiments, and they thus played a great part in stimulating the violent reaction, of which Burke became the leader. Burke saw that the doctrines of the Revolution, which proclaimed the equality of all men, would spread beyond the frontiers of France and become the "armed opinions," which at last Pitt himself denounced as dangerous to Europe. Under the influence of Burke's eloquent attack on the "Principles of 1789," a war party sprang into existence, and reforms in England came to a stop. The Whig party was ruined by the rupture between Fox and Burke, and in the end Burke led a large section of Whigs over to the side of Pitt.

Throughout 1791 and 1792 Pitt still clung to peace. He

had refused to indorse the Declaration of Pilnitz, and he had gone so far as to reduce the numbers of seamen in the navy. But the torrent of violence in France made peace impossible. In November, 1792, France offered her assistance to all nations that revolted against their Governments, and in December another decree of the Convention ordered that, in all territories occupied by French troops, republican institutions, on the French model, should be set up. The navigation of the river Scheldt, which, since 1648, had been reserved to the Dutch, was declared open to the world. The Dutch monopoly had been guaranteed by France and England in 1785 and 1788, and the action of France was a violation of her treaty engagements, and also foreshadowed an attack on Holland. On the death of Louis, the French agent was dismissed from England, and in February, 1793, France herself declared war on Great Britain and Holland. Hitherto she had fought against despotic governments, but in attacking Great Britain she was confronted by the resistance of a nation. If Great Britain was the last to enter the struggle, she never wavered, till, twice deserted by her allies, she was left to carry on the struggle single-handed.

4. The War in 1793 and 1794.—The coalition against France in 1793 comprised Great Britain, Austria, Prussia, Spain, Holland, Sardinia, Portugal, and Naples. To meet this combination, which threatened France on every side, the Convention decreed a levy of 300,000 troops, and commissioners were sent into the departments to hurry on the preparations. The decree was, however, the signal for a formidable revolt in La Vendée, where the people bitterly resented the attacks of the atheistical Republic on their religion. In Belgium also the confiscation of Church property, and the high-handed proceedings of the French, had alienated the people, and when the Austrians entered the country the Belgians revolted against France. Dumouriez, who had invaded Holland, was recalled to Belgium, but was defeated at Neerwinden, and disgusted by the conduct of the Convention, he went over to the enemy. In Germany the French were

driven across the Rhine, and the Spaniards defeated the French in the Pyrenees.

Meanwhile in Paris the Convention was torn by the struggle between the Girondists and the Jacobins, or "Mountain," led by Danton and Robespierre. The Jacobins had control of the revolutionary clubs and of the Commune of Paris, and on June 2, 1793, the mob surrounded the Tuileries and demanded the expulsion of the leading Girondists. Many escaped, and rebellions broke out at Lyons, Marseilles, and in Normandy. Toulon opened its port to the English fleet. An Anglo-Austrian army under the Duke of Coburg and Frederick Duke of York, captured Valenciennes and Condé, and threatened to march on Paris.

The Jacobins met this terrible crisis with a courage which hesitated at nothing. A new constitution was decreed, and a Committee of Public Safety was set up, armed with despotic powers. The Reign of Terror was inaugurated in Paris, and the most illustrious names in France were found amongst its victims. Marie Antoinette, the Princess Elizabeth, the early friends of the Revolution, like Barnave and Bailly, together with the leaders of the Girondists, perished on the scaffold. While Robespierre and his colleagues organised the Terror in Paris, bloodthirsty scoundrels like Lebon and Carrier carried on a similar work of vengeance in the provinces. The Vendéans were crushed, and Toulon was recaptured mainly through the skill of a young officer, Napoleon Bonaparte. Before the English fleet retired from Toulon, it destroyed all the military stores and forty French ships of war which lay in the harbour.

On the frontiers the French armies raised and directed by Carnot, the "organiser of victory," once more carried all before them. The Duke of York and Coburg failed to take advantage of their success, and York was defeated at Hondeschoote, near Dunkirk, while the Austrians suffered a reverse at Wattignies. On the Rhine the Prussians and Austrians were defeated by Hoche and Pichegru, and driven out of Alsace. In 1794 York was defeated at Tourcoing, and Belgium was re-conquered by the French. Early in 1795 Holland was

invaded and turned into the Batavian Republic, under the protection of France. The Austrians were driven across the Rhine, and by the end of the year France occupied the left bank of the river from Basel to the sea.

At sea the English fleet once more asserted its superiority. In 1793 the French naval ports of Brest and Toulon were strictly blockaded by the English fleet, and the blockade of the French coasts threatened to cut off France from all foreign supplies. In 1794 a large fleet, laden with American wheat, was expected, and a fleet under Villaret Joyeuse sailed from Brest to act as a convoy. Lord Howe, in command of the Channel fleet, encountered it off Ushant, and won the great naval victory of the "Glorious First of June."

5. The Peace of Basel (1795).—The French victories in the second half of 1793 and the beginning of 1794, raised the hopes of the moderates in France, and a large section even amongst the Jacobins was in favour of clemency. The latter were led by Danton who realised, that if the Republic was to be safe two things were necessary. France, on the one hand, must abandon the outrageous policy of the decrees of November and December, 1792, and return to the normal methods of diplomacy, and, on the other hand, the sanguinary rule of the Commune of Paris, represented by Hébert and Chaumette, must come to an end. Between the Dantonists and Hébertists, stood Robespierre and a group of Terrorists, who were opposed equally to Danton and the Commune. Robespierre determined to destroy one faction by means of the other, and by a masterpiece of treacherous intrigue, he succeeded in securing the execution of the Hébertists, and three weeks later of Danton and his chief followers. From April to July, 1794, Robespierre was supreme, but on the 9th Thermidor (July 27) he was overthrown by a coalition of men of all parties who felt themselves threatened by his dictatorship. A reaction against the Reign of Terror at once began. The Commune was suppressed, the Revolutionary Tribunal was suspended, and the Jacobin Club was closed.

The establishment of a more settled government in Paris,

and the successes of the French armies in every direction, caused the coalition against France to break up. In 1793 Prussia and Russia had concluded a secret treaty for the Second Partition of Poland, and had proceeded to carry out the scheme of brigandage against their defenceless neighbour. Austria was indignant at her exclusion from a share in the spoils, and the failure of the coalition in the second half of 1793 and in 1794 was largely due to the growing hostility between Austria and Prussia. Frederick William of Prussia, eager to secure his share in Poland, opened negotiations with France, and in 1795, by the Peace of Basel, Prussia withdrew from the war. France agreed to the neutrality of Germany north of the Main. Shortly after peace was concluded between France and Spain. The year closed with the establishment of a new form of government in France, the Directory.

6. The Campaigns of 1796 and 1797.—The withdrawal of Prussia and Spain, left England, Austria, and Sardinia, the chief combatants against France, and Pitt concluded a fresh alliance with Austria. England had now to face the hostility of Holland, and when in 1796 Spain declared war, the Spanish and Dutch fleets were placed at the disposal of France. By this time England had captured practically all the French colonies in the West Indies, and in 1795 the Cape of Good Hope and Ceylon had been taken from the Dutch. Pitt therefore opened negotiations on the basis of a restoration of conquests; but the Directory refused to accept the English terms in the hope that, with the naval resources of Holland and Spain, France would be able to seize the command of the Channel, and invade England.

The position of England in the year 1797 was most critical. Although the French invasion of south Germany was a failure, the successes of Napoleon Bonaparte in the Italian campaign of 1796 were overwhelming, and it was clear that Austria would soon be threatened by an attack from the south and the west, and would be forced to make terms. If, in addition to this, the French, Spanish, and Dutch fleets were able to form a junction in the Channel, a French invasion of England would

be possible. The junction was, however, frustrated by two victories. Sir John Jervis and Commodore Nelson, after an engagement off Cape St. Vincent, drove the Spanish fleet to take refuge in the harbour of Cadiz, and later in the year, Admiral Duncan defeated the Dutch fleet at Camperdown.

The victory off Cape St. Vincent relieved somewhat the strain on England, but there were still dangers on every side. The country was drained of money by its subsidies to Austria, and foreign trade was at a standstill. The fear of invasion had shaken the credit system to its foundations, and early in 1797 the reserve in the Bank of England fell to little over a million. The Government therefore intervened, and an act was passed suspending the payment of bank notes in cash. Meanwhile another crisis had arisen in the shape of serious mutinies amongst the fleets at Spithead and the Nore, and for a few weeks the situation was most threatening. The difficulties were solved partly by concessions on the part of the Government, which removed the serious grievances of the sailors, and partly by the good sense and patriotism of the men themselves. The victory at Camperdown was mainly won by the recently mutinous crews of the Spithead fleet.

By the end of 1797 the danger of invasion had passed away, but the coalition with Austria was at an end. Napoleon's army in the spring crossed the Alps from Italy, and advanced to Leoben, eighty miles from Vienna. Here the preliminaries of peace were settled, and Austria laid down her arms. By the Treaty of Campo Formio, Austria ceded Belgium to France, and promised that at the approaching Congress of Rastadt, which was to arrange a peace with the other German princes, she would support the French claims to the left bank of the Rhine. Lombardy was formed into the Cisalpine Republic, and the Republic of Venice, after an existence of 1200 years, was forcibly extinguished by Napoleon, and handed over to Austria.

7. Napoleon in Egypt (1798-1799).—After his great successes against Austria, Napoleon decided that his personal ambitions would be best served if he left Europe for a time.

He foresaw that the government of the Directory could not last, and he preferred to keep away from politics, so that he might be able to intervene decisively, and at the right moment appear as the heaven-sent genius whom France required to defend her against internal and external enemies. He therefore persuaded the Directory to give him a fleet and army to attack Egypt, and he hoped by conquering Egypt to threaten the English rule in India.

The expedition sailed from Toulon in May, 1798, and Napoleon, after occupying the island of Malta, which belonged to the Order of St. John of Jerusalem, landed at Alexandria in July. He defeated the Mamelukes at the Battle of the Pyramids, and overran Egypt. This success was counter-balanced by a great naval disaster. Nelson, who had been blockading Toulon, had been forced to retire to Sardinia to refit his ships after a storm, and in his absence Napoleon's expedition had sailed. He therefore gave chase; but being uncertain as to Napoleon's destination, he cruised for two months in the Mediterranean in search of the enemy. At last, in August, the English fleet came upon the French fleet in Aboukir Bay, at the mouth of the Nile. The French ships were superior in size and armament, but Nelson's tactics neutralised their superiority. The enemy's fleet under Admiral Brueys was stationed along the shore of the bay, and Nelson therefore adopted the plan of enveloping one portion of the French line at a time, and thus destroying it in detail. The English fleet approached in single line, and as it reached the extreme left of the French line, six ships sailed into the shallow water between the French and the shore, while the rest attacked the French in front. The left wing of the enemy's fleet was thus placed between a double attack and was destroyed. The battle raged throughout the night, and out of thirteen French ships only two escaped; of the rest nine surrendered and two were burnt.

The Battle of the Nile left Napoleon cut off from all communication with France, but in spite of the disaster, he decided to attack the Turkish power in Syria. In 1799 he invaded the

country, captured Jaffa, and besieged Acre. The town was held by Turkish troops, assisted by British sailors under Sir Sidney Smith, who commanded two British ships stationed in the harbour. Repeated attempts to storm the town were frustrated, and Napoleon broke up the siege and returned to Egypt. News then reached him which showed him that his presence was required in France, and he at once sailed for Europe, leaving Kléber in command of the troops (1799).

8. The Second Coalition (1799-1801).—The Congress at Rastadt had only brought to light the antagonism between Prussia and Austria, and as Prussia and France drew nearer together, Austria listened to Pitt's overtures for a new coalition against France. The aggressions of the French Government roused a widespread belief that a permanent peace was impossible. In 1798 the Pope, Pius VI., was expelled from Rome, and the Papal States were turned into a republic. Switzerland was invaded, and its constitution was remodelled as the Helvetic Republic. Pitt was thus able to take advantage of the fears aroused by the high-handed policy of the Directory to draw together a formidable coalition, comprising Austria, Russia, Turkey, and Naples. The French were expelled from Italy by the Austro-Russian army under the great Russian general, Suvarov, while the Archduke Charles drove the French armies across the Rhine. A British expedition captured the Dutch fleet in the Texel, and landed an army in Holland under the Duke of York.

These disasters completed the discredit of the Directory, and Napoleon, on his return to France, was hailed as a deliverer. The Government was overthrown, and a new constitution was set up, with Napoleon as First Consul. Napoleon at once signalled his accession to supreme power by brilliant successes. Crossing the Alps, he reconquered Italy at one blow by a great victory over the Austrians at Marengo (1800), while Moreau defeated the Austrians in south Germany at Hohenlinden. The Russians had already withdrawn in 1799, after a defeat at Zürich, and the Tsar, Paul I., was now an enthusiastic admirer of Napoleon. The incompetent Duke of

York failed miserably in Holland, and the English army ignominiously retired. The second coalition was thus shattered, and in 1801 Austria signed the Peace of Lunéville. England once again was left to continue the struggle against France.

9. India and Egypt (1799-1801.)—The ostensible object of Napoleon's invasion of Egypt had been to reverse the disasters inflicted on France by the English in India. French agents were therefore sent to stir up hostility against England. Lord Mornington, who since 1798 had been Governor-General, soon found that an expedition was necessary against Mysore. Tippoo Sultan, instigated by the French, refused to receive a British mission, and war was declared. Seringapatam, the capital of Mysore, was besieged by General Harris, and Tippoo was killed (1799).

In Egypt the war was brought to a conclusion honourable to British arms. Unfortunately for the French, Kléber was assassinated by a Mahommedan fanatic, and was succeeded by the incompetent Menou. In 1801 Sir Ralph Abercromby landed in Egypt, and a battle was fought near Alexandria. The French were defeated, but Abercromby was killed. Shortly afterwards Cairo was captured, and Menou was compelled to surrender Alexandria and come to terms. It was agreed that the French should evacuate Egypt, and that their army should be conveyed to France by British ships. All the results of Napoleon's Egyptian expedition were now destroyed, for Malta had surrendered to the British in 1800.

10. The Battle of Copenhagen (1801.)—In 1800 the old question of the "right of search" brought Great Britain into collision with the Baltic Powers. Throughout the war Great Britain insisted on the right to search neutral vessels for contraband of war and for property of the enemy. Against this claim the northern Powers upheld the view that the neutral flag gives immunity from capture to all property of the enemy on a neutral ship except contraband of war. The Tsar Paul, partly from friendship for France, formed the "Armed Neutrality of the North," which was joined by Sweden and Denmark. In

1801 a fleet under Sir William Hyde Parker and Nelson was sent into the Baltic, and at the Battle of Copenhagen the Danish fleet was compelled to surrender by Nelson's superior tactics. The English fleet then sailed to attack the Russians, but hostilities were stopped by the news of the assassination of the Tsar Paul. His successor, Alexander, made peace with England.

11. The Suspension of the Constitution (1792-1802). In the early years of George III. the Press had begun to exercise a considerable influence on politics. The attacks of Wilkes in the *North Briton* forced Bute to retire, and the attempt of the Grenville Ministry to crush Wilkes proved unsuccessful. In 1771, after a heated contest, Wilkes succeeded in establishing the right of the Press to publish reports of Parliamentary debates. Public opinion was thus brought to bear on Parliament itself, and a great source of political education was opened to the nation at large. Unfortunately on every aspect of constitutional liberty the reaction against the French Revolution told with most disastrous effects. The extravagant actions of a noisy and turbulent minority, which proclaimed its adhesion to the doctrines of the Jacobins, roused alarm, and Pitt was reluctantly compelled by the pressure of Burke, and by the fears of the influential classes in the country, to adopt a policy of repression. Trials for seditious utterances became frequent, and the Press was jealously watched. In 1794 the Habeas Corpus Act was suspended, and the suspension was subsequently prolonged, so that the Act remained inoperative for eight years. In 1795 the king was mobbed on his way to Parliament, and as a consequence the Treasonable Practices Act was passed, making the law of treason more stringent. This was followed by the Seditious Meetings Act, which severely restricted the right of public meeting and of free discussion. In 1799 the Corresponding Societies Act suppressed all societies of which the members were bound by an oath not required at law. Debating clubs and reading-rooms were to be licensed, and all printing presses were to be registered.

These coercive measures were strongly opposed by Fox and the small following of Whigs who remained faithful to the traditions of freedom. In 1798, as a protest against the policy of coercion, Fox and his friends withdrew from Parliament. All opposition proved fruitless, for the country was profoundly alarmed by the threats of French invasion, by the recent mutinies in the navy, and by the insurrection in Ireland. It was believed, not without justice, that at such a period of crisis the temporary suspension of the Constitution was not too high a price to pay for national safety.

12. The Rebellion of 1798.—The Irish Parliament, which secured its legislative independence in 1782, was even less representative in character than the Parliament of Great Britain. Five-sixths of the people of Ireland were, as Catholics, excluded from the franchise, and the representation of even the Protestant minority was practically in the hands of a small circle of great landlords, twenty-five of whom controlled the election of one-third of the members of the Irish House of Commons. In Ireland the system of Parliamentary corruption was steadily employed by the Government to enforce its policy, and two-thirds of the Commons were attached to the English interest by pensions, bribes, and grants of titles and offices. Although the penal laws against Catholic worship had been partially repealed, it was not till 1792 that the Irish Catholics were given the parliamentary franchise, and in 1793 were admitted to serve on juries.

In 1791 the Society of United Irishmen was formed, to unite all Irishmen in an endeavour to secure Parliamentary reform. Three years later it was suppressed, and when it was reconstructed it became a society with distinctly treasonable aims. A network of committees was spread throughout the country, and the elaborate organisation centred in an executive directory of five members in Dublin. Throughout 1796 and 1797 a military organisation was created, and it was calculated that an armed force of 250,000 could be put into the field to support a French invasion. The society at first comprised both Catholics and Protestants, and its chief leaders were Lord

Edward Fitzgerald, Wolfe Tone, who was in close touch with the French, Arthur O'Connor, and Oliver Bond.

In 1796 the hopes of the revolutionists were raised by the promise of French help, and in December a French fleet slipped out of Brest with 20,000 men on board, under the command of Hoche, the conqueror of La Vendée. The expedition sailed in three divisions, and the ship carrying Hoche was separated from the rest. Fifteen ships, however, reached Bantry Bay, but these were scattered by a storm, and the few that remained in the bay had only 4000 men on board. Grouchy, the second in command, decided to abandon the attempt, and the expedition returned in a shattered condition to France. Hoche never came within sight of the Irish coast. Had the French landed they would have found the Government unprepared, and their arrival would have been the signal for a general rising.

The failure of the promised help from France did not discourage the conspirators, and the Government, which had full information of the projected rising, decided on measures of repression. In 1795 the Society of Orangemen had been founded in Ulster, in opposition to the association of Catholic peasants, known as the Defenders, and an attempt was made to drive the Catholics out of the province. In a short time a scarcely veiled warfare was in progress between Catholics and Protestants, and the Society of Orangemen by 1797 had organised a large armed force to resist the United Irishmen. The Government, in order to keep the peace, raised a force of yeomanry amongst the loyalists, and, although it was not intended to be recruited from Orangemen, it was inevitable that it should be joined mainly by recruits from the ranks of that society. In 1797 the whole country was placed under martial law, and in 1798 the Government ordered the arrest of the leaders of the United Irishmen. The disarming of the Catholic population was entrusted to the militia and yeomanry, and the order was carried out by the burning of farmhouses, and by flogging and torturing the peasants to make them reveal where arms had been concealed. The people were already ripe for rebellion,

but the savage conduct of their oppressors roused a feeling of fierce resentment, which eventually vented itself in acts of brutal revenge.

The arrest of the leaders of the United Irishmen did not prevent the rebellion. The insurrection had been arranged to take place on May 23, 1798, and it broke out on that day. The most serious fighting took place in Wexford, under a priest named Murphy, but the rebels were defeated by General Lake at Vinegar Hill, and the rebellion collapsed. Two months later, a small French force under General Humbert landed at Killala. The invaders were successful at Castlebar, but were subsequently surrounded by a superior force, and compelled to surrender.

The conduct of the rebellion had been disgraced by acts of inhuman barbarity, and a terrible revenge was now exacted by the triumphant soldiery. The leaders of the rebels, some of whom had joined on compulsion, or in order to keep the movement within humane limits, were tried by martial law and executed, and the executions were followed by the burning of houses and the destruction of Catholic chapels, and by the indiscriminate slaughter of unarmed men and even women. As a result of the struggle the state of the country was appalling. "Over great districts nearly every house was burnt, the poorer cabins by the troops as the homes of rebels, the slated houses by the rebels as the homes of Protestants or loyalist. Agriculture had ceased. Its implements were destroyed. The sheep and cattle had been plundered and slaughtered. The farmers were homeless, ruined, and often starving. Misgovernment and corruption, political agitation and political conspiracy had done their work, and a great part of Ireland was as miserable and desolate as any spot upon the globe." (Lecky.)

13. The Union with Ireland (1800).—The rebellion of 1798 made a legislative union inevitable. Lord Cornwallis, the new lord-lieutenant, was in favour of it, and the Ministry in England was anxious to put an end to a system which at any time might threaten the connection with England. Pitt was anxious for the Union as part of a wider scheme of con-

cessions to Irish Catholics, which he saw was impossible if the Irish Parliament continued. Catholic Emancipation, the admission of Catholics to the Irish Parliament, would have swamped the Protestant minority, and this would have entailed a civil war in Ireland; but the danger would be removed if the Catholic representatives of Ireland were admitted to the Parliament of Great Britain, in which they would be a small minority. With Catholic Emancipation Pitt would have combined measures for the endowment of the Catholic clergy, and for the removal of the standing grievance by which Irish Catholics were compelled to pay tithes to the Protestant clergy. These measures, together with a policy of internal free trade aimed at creating commercial prosperity, were included in the comprehensive scheme by which the legislative Union was to be made palatable to Irishmen. It was Pitt's misfortune, and still more the misfortune of Great Britain, that the Union alone was carried, and that the great measures of conciliation were either dropped altogether, or, like Catholic Emancipation, were ultimately wrung from the British Parliament by the threat of rebellion.

The circumstances which accompanied the extinction of Irish legislative independence were disgracefully corrupt. Bribery had been for years the normal method of keeping the Irish Parliament subservient, and the concessions to Catholics in 1792-1793 were only passed by the corrupt influence of the Government. It was therefore characteristic of the whole system of government in Ireland that the Irish Parliament should be ended by an exhibition of its venal and tainted qualities without a parallel in its history. The Union campaign began in 1799, when the Irish Parliament struck out from the address on the king's speech all reference to the plan of Union. In spite of this, Pitt, in the English Parliament, carried resolutions in favour of the scheme by large majorities. To create a majority in the Irish Parliament, Cornwallis and his chief secretary, Lord Castlereagh, were authorised by Pitt to use every means which the corrupt influence at their disposal permitted. Thirty-four peerages were promised to leading borough owners, and a million and a quarter was spent in

buying eighty boroughs, represented by 160 members, from their proprietors. The result was that a number of members representing these pocket boroughs resigned, in order not to oppose the wishes of their patrons, and the sixty-three seats which were vacated were filled by supporters of the Union. Lastly, by means of its influence over the placemen in Parliament, the Government won over a large section of the Irish House of Commons by promises of pensions and offices. When, therefore, the Irish Parliament met in January, 1800, for the last time, the Government felt secure of success. Inside Parliament the system of corruption had done its work, and in the country all resistance had been made impossible by the large army which had been sent from England. In these circumstances the Union was passed.

By the Act of Union of 1800 the Irish Parliament ceased to exist. In future, four Protestant bishops and twenty-eight representative peers, elected for life, were to join the House of Lords, and one hundred Irish members were to be elected to represent Ireland in the Parliament of the United Kingdom of Great Britain and Ireland. The Churches of England and Ireland were "united into the Protestant Episcopal Church, to be called the United Church of England and Ireland," and it was stipulated that this should be "an essential and fundamental part of the Union."

14. The Fall of Pitt (1801).—Before the passing of the Act of Union the hopes of Irish Catholics had been raised, and their opposition to the Union largely neutralised, by the prospect of liberal concessions. Pitt, therefore, at once proceeded to consider the measures of justice to Catholics, to which, although not explicitly pledged, he was in honour bound by the action of Lord Cornwallis. But Pitt had not calculated on the opposition of the king, nor had he realised that George III. was fomenting treachery amongst his colleagues. When, however, he brought the question of Catholic Emancipation before the Cabinet, he found that his position had been undermined. The king was persuaded that to grant concessions to Catholics would be a violation of his coronation oath "to maintain the



Walker & Cockerell sc.

Protestant religion as established by law ;” and the excitement of a quarrel with Pitt brought about a recurrence of the mental illness by which he had been prostrated in 1788. Pitt had no alternative but to resign, and with him went Dundas, Cornwallis, and Castlereagh, who had contrived and carried through the Union.

The resignation of Pitt proved fatal to the policy of reconciliation which he had planned. “Catholic Emancipation waited for thirty, and Tithe Reform waited near forty embittered and envenomed years. The time for ecclesiastical stipends provided by the State passed away for ever. The bright promises of financial improvement that had been held out to Ireland faded away into bankruptcy. Seventy years afterwards, the Irish Church Establishment, which it had been one of the main objects of the treaty to preserve, suddenly toppled over and disappeared. With it went the keystone of the Union. And so it is Pitt’s sinister destiny to be judged by the petty fragment of a large policy which he did not live to carry out : a policy, unhappy in execution and result, but which was, it may be fairly maintained, as generous and comprehensive in conception as it was patriotic in motive.”¹

14. The Peace of Amiens (1802).—The fall of Pitt came at a moment when the strain of the danger from France had, in a great measure, passed away. Pitt, in the words of Canning’s poem, was “the pilot that weathered the storm,” and if he left the ship of the State in the guidance of feebler hands, his services were still available in the country’s hour of need. Addington, the new prime minister, was one of Pitt’s oldest friends, and in the position of Speaker of the House had gained a reputation for wisdom by his oracular demeanour. But his talents were of the most slender description, and his vanity was such that he did not realise that he had been called to occupy a position which he could never adequately fill. Canning fairly summed up the situation in the rhyme, “Pitt is to Addington as London is to Paddington.” The Ministry was a fitting counterpart of its leader, but fortunately for the

¹ Lord Rosebery, “Pitt.”

moment Pitt's influence was on the side of the respectable mediocrities of whom the new Cabinet was composed.

The early days of Addington's Ministry were made illustrious by two successes, both of which were due to the policy of his great predecessor. Abercromby's expedition to Egypt and Nelson's victory at Copenhagen were the fruits of Pitt's foresight, and of these Addington reaped the benefit. Both Great Britain and France were now weary of the war. Napoleon wanted peace in order to consolidate his power at home. Although he had been successful on the Continent, the sea-power of England checked and thwarted him in the Mediterranean, in the Atlantic and the Channel, and in the Baltic. After protracted negotiations, the Peace of Amiens was signed (1802). By this it was agreed that the French should withdraw from Naples and the Papal States, and recognise the integrity of Portugal. Great Britain gave up all her conquests except Trinidad and Ceylon. The Cape of Good Hope was restored to the Dutch, and Egypt to Turkey. Malta was to be given back to the knights of St. John, under the guarantee of one of the great Powers.

CHIEF EVENTS.

	A.D.
Outbreak of War with France	1793.
The "Glorious First of June"	1794.
Partial Suspension of the Constitution	1794-1802.
Battles of Cape St. Vincent and Camperdown	1797.
Battle of the Nile	1798.
Battle of Copenhagen	1801.
Peace of Amiens	1802.

CHAPTER XLIII.

GEORGE III. (1760-1820).

(4) THE WAR AGAINST NAPOLEON AND THE SETTLEMENT OF EUROPE (1803-1820).

1. Causes of the Renewal of the War (1802-1803).—

The Treaty of Amiens was hailed with rapture in England, and for a time it was believed that a permanent peace had been arranged. But the actions of Napoleon soon showed that the peace was only a breathing space, and that after resisting the aggressions of Revolutionary France, Great Britain would have to face the dangers of a Napoleonic ascendancy in Europe. Even while the negotiations for peace were in progress, Napoleon had continued his aggressions, and after the treaty had been signed, he pursued the same policy, contemptuously disregarding the protests of Great Britain. The vassal state of Holland was forced to re-organise its constitution as the Batavian Republic, Switzerland was occupied by French troops, and the Cisalpine Republic was turned into the Italian Republic, with Napoleon as its president. Piedmont and Elba were annexed to France, and shortly after Parma and Placentia shared the same fate. To shew the bitterness of his hostility, Napoleon ordered the dependent republics to close their ports to English goods.

In the insulting attitude which Napoleon had taken up, he counted on the feebleness of the Addington Ministry; but he soon found that Great Britain was not to be bullied with impunity. Englishmen especially resented his interference in the internal affairs of the country. Napoleon complained, not

without justice, of the intrigues of the French royalists who had taken refuge in England, and also of their attacks on him published by the English Press. The Government, while anxious to conciliate Napoleon, declined to dismiss the French refugees or to do more than put into force the ordinary law of the land against offenders in the Press. Peltier, a French emigrant, was, however, prosecuted for libelling the First Consul, and was found guilty. At the same time, while making these complaints against the English Press, Napoleon allowed attacks on England to be published in the official *Moniteur*, and he also roused suspicion by sending agents to England and Ireland in order to gain information which might prove useful in case of an invasion.

The Maltese question was the final cause of quarrel. In 1803 an official report on the position of France in the east was published, in which the occupation of Egypt was discussed. England therefore clung more and more to Malta to safeguard her approach to Egypt. The Government refused to give up Malta to the knights of St. John, lest the island should fall into the hands of France. Napoleon angrily declared to the British ambassador, Lord Whitworth, that he would rather see England in possession of the Faubourg St. Antoine in Paris than of Malta, and he demanded that Great Britain should observe the Treaty of Amiens. The British Government replied by pointing out that by his treatment of Holland, Switzerland, and Italy, Napoleon had violated the conditions on which that treaty rested. An ultimatum was sent, demanding the retention of Malta for ten years and the withdrawal of French troops from Holland and Switzerland. As Napoleon declined to yield, Great Britain declared war (1803).

The nation at once turned to Pitt as the only statesman who could guide her policy. In 1804 Addington resigned, and Pitt returned to power. A great volunteer movement had already been started, and in a few months 300,000 men were ready to serve in case of an invasion. The combined force of the regular army and militia was raised to 200,000 men. Preparations for a naval war were hurried on with

feverish activity, and in a single year 166 ships were built and 600 were got ready.

2. Character of the War.—In forcing Great Britain into war, Napoleon took up definitely the old Bourbon policy, pursued throughout the eighteenth century, of hostility to England. From this moment he concentrated all his energies on striking directly or indirectly at an enemy whom he regarded with the bitterest hatred. The long duel thus began, which ended on the field of Waterloo. Foiled in his attempts at invasion, and thwarted at every turn by the sea-power of Great Britain, Napoleon tried to crush his rival by closing every market in Europe to British products. To conquer Britain he had to conquer Europe, and although his marvellous military genius enabled him again and again to shatter the coalitions which were called into existence against him, and subsidised by the wealth of Great Britain, yet in the end the resources of France were strained beyond the limit of endurance. Moreover the armies of the French Revolution had succeeded on the Continent because they were the armies of a nation struggling against the effete political system of eighteenth-century Europe. Napoleon failed to impose his ascendancy on Europe, because in Spain, in Russia, and in Germany, he at last roused the same national spirit which had breathed a new life into France herself in 1789. In 1804 Napoleon had reached the summit of his ambition, and had crowned himself Emperor of the French. Like his great forerunner, Charlemagne, he parcelled out European thrones amongst his relations, and for eight years the frontiers of European States shifted at his bidding. But his failure to conquer Spain and Russia was followed by the resurrection of Germany as a nation, and in 1813 an insurrection of nations overthrew the tyranny of France at Leipsic.

3. The Naval Campaign (1803–1805).—On the renewal of the war, Napoleon at once determined to prepare for the invasion of England. Meanwhile, to injure English commerce, Hanover was invaded, and the Elbe and Weser were closed to British ships. To invade England, Napoleon had to con-

concentrate near some point on the coast the armies for the invasion, and the vessels to transport them. His plan was to collect a flotilla of flat-bottomed boats, and at the same time to create a fleet which should be strong enough to control the Channel for a time sufficient for the flotilla to cross in safety. A thousand flat-bottomed boats, capable of carrying 100 men each, were ordered to be built in the harbours of France, and in the ports in Holland and the North Sea, and these were gradually concentrated near Boulogne. By July, 1805, transports for 40,000 men were in readiness in Boulogne harbour, and in the neighbouring harbours there were flotillas sufficient for 62,000 more. The "army of England," stationed at Boulogne, comprised 130,000 men, and the soldiers were constantly exercised in embarking, so that the first favourable opportunity might be seized without delay. The army waited from May, 1803, to August, 1805, but the opportunity never came. The English fleets watched the French coasts from Brest to Toulon, thus preventing the junction of the French fleets, which would have been the signal for the Boulogne flotilla to start. The English Admiralty wisely refused to keep English fleets near the English ports, holding that England's first line of defence was her blockading fleets outside the French harbours.

In 1804 Spain declared war against Great Britain, and agreed to furnish Napoleon with twenty-five ships of the line and eleven frigates. The emperor already controlled the naval resources of Holland, and he now worked out his final plan for the invasion of England. His primary aim was to draw away the English fleets by a stratagem which should cause the English admirals to believe that he was planning an attack on the one hand on Egypt, and on the other on the West Indies. Admiral Villeneuve was therefore ordered to escape from Toulon, which was blockaded by Nelson, sail through the Straits of Gibraltar to Cadiz, and after releasing the Spanish ships blockaded there, he was to proceed to Martinique. Here he was to be joined by the Brest fleet under Ganteaume and the combined fleet, having enticed the

English fleets away from their centres of observation, was to steer across the Atlantic for the English Channel.

Villeneuve successfully escaped from Toulon, and after releasing the Spanish ships at Cadiz, sailed to Martinique. But Ganteaume was unable to get out of Brest, and therefore Napoleon modified his plan. He ordered Villeneuve to return to Europe, release the ships blockaded at Ferrol, liberate Ganteaume at Brest, and, with a fleet of fifty-six ships of the line, enter the Channel.

Meanwhile Nelson, on learning that Villeneuve was crossing the Atlantic, had started in pursuit, and after being seriously delayed by contrary winds, reached Barbados. Villeneuve at once started for Europe, and Nelson after searching in vain for the enemy, set sail across the Atlantic, sending on a fast sailing ship to warn the Admiralty of the danger. The result was the strengthening of the English fleet off Ferrol, and an order to its commander, Sir Robert Calder, to intercept Villeneuve off Cape Finisterre. Here Calder fought an indecisive battle with Villeneuve, and the latter was allowed to effect a junction with the ships in Ferrol harbour. Napoleon now hourly expected that Villeneuve, who had twenty-nine ships, would release the twenty-five ships shut up in Brest and enter the Channel. Unfortunately for the emperor's schemes, Villeneuve, deceived by a report that a large hostile fleet was near, took refuge at Cadiz. Napoleon's plan for the invasion of England was at an end.

4. Austerlitz and Trafalgar (1805).—During the progress of the great naval campaign Pitt had been busily occupied in building up the third coalition against France. It was joined by Russia, Austria, Sweden, and Naples, and its main objects were to expel the French from Holland, Switzerland, Italy, and Hanover. Prussia clung to the policy of neutrality which she had adopted since the Treaty of Basel (1795). The plan of campaign was that the Austrian army under the Archduke Charles should invade Lombardy, while a second army under General Mack, reinforced by Russians, should invade France.

Once more the rapidity of Napoleon's movements swept away the slow combinations of the allies. As soon as the emperor realised that Villeneuve had ruined his plans for the invasion of England, he broke up his camp at Boulogne, and turned on Austria. In a few weeks Mack's army was surrounded at Ulm, and capitulated. Vienna was occupied by Napoleon, and the Austrian and Russian troops retreated into Moravia. Napoleon started in pursuit, and in December 2, 1805, the "Battle of the Three Emperors" was fought at Austerlitz. The Tsar Alexander and the Emperor Francis II. were defeated, and the Russians withdrew. Francis had to agree to the Peace of Pressburg, by which Austria lost Venice and the Tyrol, and recognised the independence of Napoleon's allies in Germany, Bavaria, Würtemberg, and Baden. Prussia, whose feeble and shifty diplomacy had allowed Austria to be crushed, was rewarded by the cession of Hanover.

The capitulation of Ulm and the battle of Austerlitz made Napoleon supreme on the Continent, but on the sea the naval power of France suffered an overwhelming disaster. Villeneuve had been ordered by Napoleon to leave Cadiz and enter the Mediterranean, and, knowing that the emperor had accused him of cowardice, and that he was on the point of being superseded, he determined to strike a great blow to retrieve his honour. The combined French and Spanish fleet encountered Nelson off Cape Trafalgar, thirty miles south of Cadiz. The allies had thirty-three ships, and the English twenty-seven, but Nelson's tactics once more neutralised their numerical superiority. The enemy's fleet formed a long line of ships, close-hauled to the wind, and heading north. Nelson therefore formed his fleet into two columns, one under himself, the other under Collingwood. These bore down upon the centre of the enemy's line, and cut it into two divisions. The rear of the allied fleet was enveloped and destroyed in detail by the column under Collingwood's command, while Nelson on board the *Victory* led the second column which joined battle with the French ships under Villeneuve. The *Victory* grappled with the *Redoubtable*, and half an hour after

Nelson's column came into action the great admiral was mortally wounded. He lived long enough to hear that Villeneuve's flag ship the *Bucentaure* with nineteen other ships had been either captured or destroyed. Before going into action Nelson had signalled to his fleet, "England expects every man to do his duty," and throughout his strenuous career he had himself followed the high standard of duty to the public service which he had exacted from his subordinates. He could die happy in the knowledge that his task was achieved, and that the sea-power of Great Britain was now secure without a rival.

The victory of Trafalgar had been won on October 21, 1805, four days after the surrender at Ulm. When the news arrived, Pitt was entertained by the City at the Guildhall as the saviour of Europe. "I return you thanks," he said in this, the last of his public utterances, "for the honour you have done me. But Europe is not to be saved by any single man. England has saved herself by her exertion, and will, as I trust, save Europe by her example." A month later came the news of Austerlitz, and the overthrow of the coalition which Pitt had inspired. His health gave way under the accumulated strain of victory and disaster, and on January 23, 1806 the great minister died. He was buried in Westminster Abbey in the tomb which contained the body of his father.

5. The Second Mahratta War (1802-1805).—War with France, as in the eighteenth century, reacted on the position of England in India. The overthrow of Tippoo Sultan in 1799, and the partition of Mysore brought the British power in India into collision with the Mahrattas, who held sway over a great part of Central India. On the death of Mahadaji Sindhia the Mahratta empire split into five divisions, among which that of the Peishwa of Poona was the chief. One of the five chieftains, Holkar, drove the Peishwa out of Poona, and the latter took refuge at Bombay. Here he concluded the Treaty of Bassein (1802) with the Marquis Wellesley (formerly Lord Mornington), and agreed to become a vassal in return for British support. The other Mahratta chiefs at once

combined against British predominance, and war broke out. Arthur Wellesley, the brother of the Governor-General, conducted a brilliant campaign, in which he won two great victories at Assaye and Argaum in the Deccan, while General Lake captured Delhi and Agra, and restored the aged Shah Alam to the throne of the Moguls. Throughout the struggle the influence of France had been traceable, and when Sindhia and Bhonsla, two of the Mahratta chieftains, sued for terms they were compelled to dismiss the French officers in their service and make territorial cessions. The Peishwa of Poona was restored, and the nominal ruler of India, Shah Alam became a British dependent. In 1805 Arthur Wellesley returned to England.

6. The Grenville and Portland Ministries (1806-1807).

—The death of Pitt was followed by the formation of the "Ministry of All the Talents." Lord Grenville became prime minister, and under him a coalition of Whigs and Tories was formed. Fox, in spite of the king's opposition, was foreign secretary, and with him served Addington—now Lord Sidmouth—Windham, and Grey. Fox in the early days of the war against the Revolution had parted company with Burke over the question of the French war, and he now endeavoured to come to terms with Napoleon. But the negotiations soon convinced him that the emperor did not want peace, and he died disheartened and disillusioned after nine months of office. In 1807 the Grenville Ministry quarrelled with the king over the question of concessions to the Catholics, and was dismissed. Before it fell it had achieved one memorable reform, the prohibition of the slave-trade.

A new Tory Ministry was now formed by the Duke of Portland, with Perceval as chancellor of the exchequer, Canning as foreign secretary, and Hawkesbury, the future Lord Liverpool, as home secretary, all three of whom were destined to occupy the position of prime minister. The Ministry was practically pledged to the king to resist all Catholic claims, and a general election showed that the king in this represented correctly the wishes of the nation.

7. The "Continental System" (1806.)—After Austerlitz, Napoleon had assumed the proud position of a dispenser of kingdoms and principalities. The Italian Republic was abolished, and Napoleon crowned himself King of Italy. Hanover had been taken from George III. and given to Prussia in return for territorial cessions to France, and the acceptance of the French alliance. The French allies in Germany were rewarded for their support by the gift of provinces taken from Austria. The electors of Bavaria and Württemberg received the royal title. In 1806 Ferdinand IV. was expelled from Naples, and Joseph Bonaparte became King of the Two Sicilies. Venice was annexed to the kingdom of Italy. Holland was formed into a kingdom for Louis Bonaparte. Duchies and princedoms were showered on Napoleon's marshals, and his power in Germany was consolidated by the creation of the Confederation of the Rhine, which as a counterpoise to Prussia and Austria, was placed under the protection of France. At the bidding of Napoleon the Holy Roman Empire ceased to exist. Francis II. abdicated the office of Head of the Empire, which in theory had existed since the days of Augustus, and assumed the title of Emperor of Austria.

It was now the turn of Prussia to feel the heavy hand of France. Under the feeble king, Frederick William III., Prussia had stultified herself by a vacillating policy, which had allowed Austria to be crushed, and had established the domination of France over Germany. Prussia, however, was bitterly aggrieved by the offer which Napoleon now made to England of a restoration of Hanover, and declared war. The punishment meted out to Prussia was swift and decisive. On the same day the Prussian armies were defeated at Jena and Auerstadt, and within a month from the declaration of war, Berlin was occupied. Napoleon pursued Frederick William into Prussian Poland, and in 1807 fought an indecisive battle at Eylau against the Russians and Prussians. This was, however, followed by a great victory at Friedland, and the Tsar, Alexander I., agreed to the Treaty of Tilsit. Prussia lost

her dominions west of the Elbe, which, with Hanover and other provinces, went to form the kingdom of Westphalia for Napoleon's youngest brother, Jerome. In return for her services in holding down Germany from revolt, Russia was to have a free hand in dealing with Turkey and Sweden.

In November, 1806, Napoleon issued the Berlin Decree. This declared the British Isles in a state of blockade, forbade the allies of France to trade with them, and ordered the confiscation of all British property found in the states occupied by French troops. Great Britain at once replied by the Orders in Council which prohibited neutrals from trading with France or her allies. In 1807 Napoleon completed the "Continental System," as it was called, by the Milan Decree, which ordered that any ship which touched at a British port should be liable to confiscation. Meanwhile, England had proceeded from words to acts. Canning, knowing that France and Russia had determined to seize the Danish navy, sent a fleet to Copenhagen to demand the surrender of the Danish ships. The Danes refused, but the bombardment of Copenhagen forced them to acquiesce, and the Danish fleet was brought to England.

8. Napoleon in Spain (1809.)—For ten years Spain had followed humbly in the wake of French policy. She had made war and peace at the bidding of Napoleon, and on her fleets and commerce had fallen the crushing blows of the sea-power of England. In 1807 she allowed the French army to pass through her territory to conquer Portugal, which had refused to bow to the "Continental System." Having taken possession of Portugal, Napoleon determined to oust the House of Bourbon from Spain. The country was governed by the incompetent Charles IV., who was bitterly opposed by his son Ferdinand. The king and his son were summoned before Napoleon at Bayonne, and were compelled to resign their claims. Joseph Bonaparte was transferred from the throne of Naples to that of Spain. This high-handed proceeding roused the resentment of patriotic Spaniards, and Napoleon soon found himself opposed by the whole nation, and committed

to a guerilla warfare, in which Spaniards were particularly adept. His treatment of Spain was, in fact, a colossal blunder, and marked the beginning of his downfall. In 1808 the French general, Dupont, was compelled to capitulate at Baylen, and Joseph fled from Madrid.

England had determined not to allow her ancient ally, Portugal, to succumb, and a force under Sir Arthur Wellesley landed in Portugal and marched on Lisbon. The English were attacked at Vimiero by Marshal Junot, and after hard fighting the French were defeated. In defiance of Wellesley's wishes Sir Hew Dalrymple, who had just arrived from England to take over the command, concluded the Convention of Cintra, by which the French evacuated Portugal on condition of being transported to France in British ships.

In the winter of 1808 Napoleon appeared in Spain, and, after some successful engagements, entered Madrid. The British Government, meanwhile, had recalled Dalrymple and Wellesley to answer for the Convention of Cintra, which had allowed Junot's army to escape, and, before Wellesley could return to Portugal cleared of all responsibility for the blunder, Sir John Moore had attempted a daring diversion by invading Spain. Advancing as far as Salamanca, he cut the French line of communications. Napoleon hurried north from Madrid, abandoning his intention to attack Lisbon, and the French army was drawn by the skilful tactics of Sir John Moore into a pursuit which extended into Galicia. Napoleon himself gave up the attempt to bring Moore to a battle, and returned to France; but at Corunna, where British transports awaited him, Moore turned on his pursuers. The French were defeated, but Moore was mortally wounded (1809). Shortly after, Wellesley returned to Portugal to take command of the Anglo-Portuguese forces, and the long campaigns of the Peninsular War began, which for five years drained French resources, and ended, in 1813, with the invasion of France.

9. Wagram and Walcheren (1809).—Napoleon had been recalled from Spain by the news that Austria had declared war and had inflicted defeats on his generals. The emperor's

presence soon restored the balance in favour of France. As usual, he struck directly at Vienna. The capital was occupied, and a battle was fought at Aspern on the Danube, below Vienna, which was practically a reverse for the French. At Wagram, however, the Austrians were defeated, and by the Peace of Vienna Austria was stripped of her territories in Poland and on the shores of the Adriatic. Napoleon's empire now stretched to the borders of Bosnia, and Austria was cut off from the sea. Since the outbreak of the struggle with France in 1792, Austria had been thrust back from the Rhine and Mediterranean, and had been driven out of Italy, Germany, Belgium, and Polish Galicia, as well as from the Tyrol and other hereditary dominions of the House of Hapsburg. Henceforward, Austria, under the guidance of Metternich, ceased to champion the interests of Germany. The change was emphasised by the marriage of Napoleon to the emperor's daughter, Marie Louise. The Pope, Pius VII., had been carried away captive, and the papal States annexed (1809). The birth of a son to Napoleon and Marie Louise seemed to mark the completion of the emperor's ambitions. The young prince received the title of King of Rome.

Meanwhile, a great effort on the part of England had proved a disastrous failure. A fleet had landed an army of 70,000 men at the mouth of the Scheldt, under the command of the incompetent Earl of Chatham, Pitt's elder brother. Three weeks were wasted on the swampy isle of Walcheren; and Antwerp, the object of the expedition, was not even attacked. Thousands of the troops were struck down by fever, and the army was ordered home.

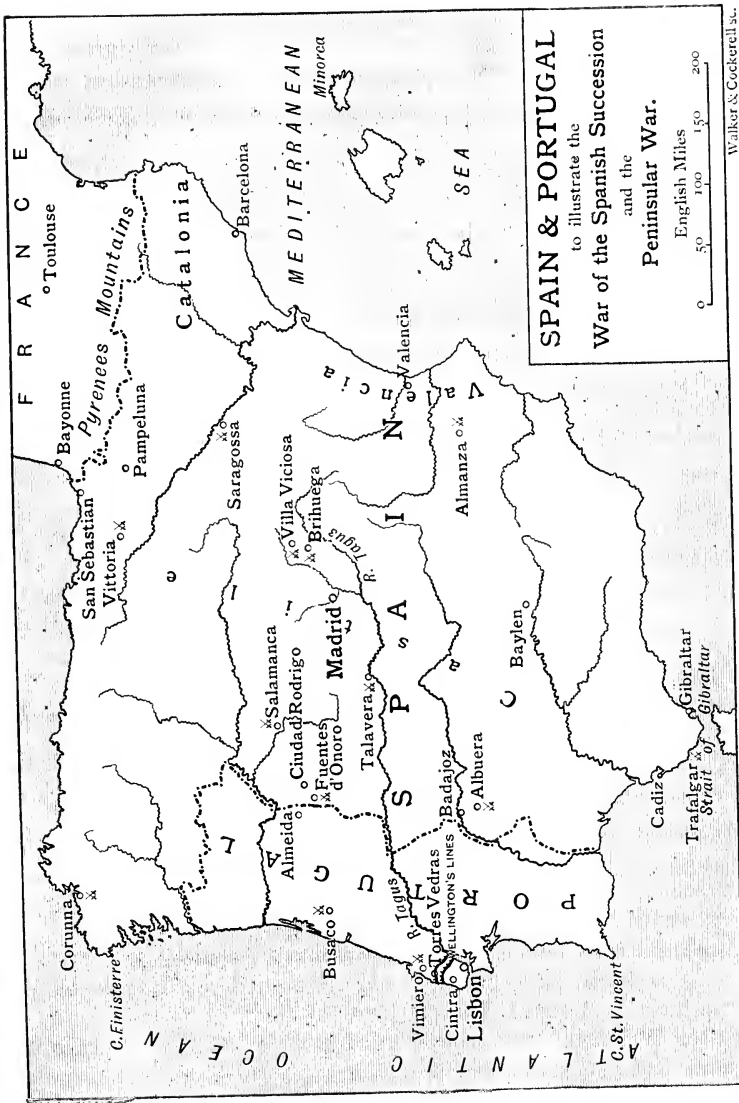
10. The Peninsular Campaigns (1809-1811.)—Wellesley opened the campaign of 1809 by driving the French, under Soult, out of Portugal, and he then made a daring attempt to march on Madrid; but he found himself ill-supported by the Spaniards, and his communications with Portugal threatened by Soult. He therefore entrenched himself at Talavera, where he won a victory over the combined army of Marshal Victor and Joseph Bonaparte. Finding himself threatened on all

sides by converging armies, he beat a retreat into Portugal. For his services this year, Wellesley was made Viscount Wellington.

The overthrow of Austria at Wagram enabled Napoleon, in 1810, to send Masséna with a large army to expel the English from Portugal. But Wellington had anticipated the attack, and during the winter had secretly constructed a series of fortifications, the "Lines of Torres Vedras," running from the estuary of the Tagus to the sea, and thus protecting the peninsula on which Lisbon stands. As Masséna advanced into Portugal, Wellington fell back, only stopping to inflict a severe check on the French at Busaco. After the victory he withdrew behind the Lines of Torres Vedras. Masséna was thunderstruck at finding himself confronted by an impregnable line of defences where he had expected no difficulties, and, after wasting six months before the lines, he retreated into Spain, after a campaign which had cost him 30,000 men.

In 1811 Wellington was strongly reinforced from England, and was enabled to take the offensive. On the northern frontier of Portugal he attacked the fortresses of Almeida and Ciudad Rodrigo, while an Anglo-Spanish force under Lord Beresford laid siege to Badajoz. Masséna tried to save Almeida, but was defeated at Fuentes d'Onoro, and Almeida surrendered. Ten days later Beresford was attacked at Albuera by Sault, and the French were only defeated after a heavy sacrifice of life, mainly due to the incapacity of the English general. Wellington therefore gave up, for the moment, his plans for invading Spain, and retired behind his defences in Portugal.

11. The Regency (1810).—Since 1807 the Portland Ministry had continued in office, but in 1809 Canning quarrelled with Castlereagh, the minister of war, over the management of the Peninsular War, and after a duel the two ministers resigned. The Duke of Portland also retired, and the Tory Ministry was reconstructed under Perceval, with Lord Liverpool as war minister, and Lord Palmerston as under-secretary.



The new ministers, like their predecessors, never really grasped the importance of Wellington's struggle in the Peninsula, and the war was constantly starved in order to undertake enterprises in other directions.

In 1810 George III. became permanently insane, and his son, Prince George, was made regent. As he had always been in alliance with the Whigs against his father, the Opposition expected the fall of the Tories and a summons to office. But the regent was indolent and vicious, and after a half-hearted attempt to do something for his Whig friends, which only roused their indignation, he allowed the Perceval Ministry to retain power. In 1812 Perceval was assassinated, and Lord Liverpool became prime minister. The Tories showed no capacity for conducting a large war, and their domestic policy was of the narrowest description; but they clung to the belief that the downfall of Napoleon was necessary to the peace of Europe, and their tenacity of purpose in the end reaped its reward.

12. The War of Liberation (1812-1814).—In 1812 a series of misunderstandings between Napoleon and the Tsar Alexander ended in war. The "Continental System" had injured trade between Russia and England, and the Tsar saw no reason for sacrificing the internal prosperity of Russia to Napoleon's hatred of England. A huge French army passed through Germany and Poland, and invaded Russia. But Napoleon, although successful when he could draw the Russians into a battle, failed to inflict any decisive blow like those of his campaigns against Austria and Prussia. On reaching Moscow he was compelled to retreat, and in the winter of 1812, after terrible sufferings, only one-tenth of his splendid army recrossed the frontier into Poland.

On Spain the French hold slackened as Napoleon's position in Central Europe became more precarious. In 1812 Wellington captured the fortresses of Ciudad Rodrigo and Badajoz, and inflicted a defeat on the French at Salamanca. He then occupied Madrid, but finding his hold on the capital insecure, he retreated for the third time into

Portugal. In the following year (1813) the best French troops were called away to Germany, and Wellington's successes were unbroken. Advancing northwards he defeated Jourdan at Vittoria, captured St. Sebastian and Pampeluna, and began to fight his way through the passes of the Pyrenees.

Meanwhile throughout 1813 Napoleon had been fighting a desperate struggle against his enemies. Prussia had been regenerated by her disasters, and was now ready to strike a blow for the freedom of Germany. Prussia and Russia joined forces against France, and Napoleon could now only meet his enemies with raw recruits in the place of the splendid veterans who had perished in Russia. In spite of his disadvantages, the emperor at first held his own, but when Austria threw in her lot with the coalition, his position became critical. His generals were defeated in four battles, and, although he won a victory at Dresden, it was clear that he was fighting for his existence as a ruler. At Leipsic, on October 18, 1813, the allies closed upon Napoleon, and in the "Battle of the Nations" the Napoleonic ascendancy was destroyed. In 1814 France was invaded from the south by Wellington, who drove Soult before him as far as Toulouse. From the east the allied armies poured into France, and, after some successes, in which he showed all his marvellous strategical powers, the emperor was overwhelmed by the news that Paris had surrendered. He at once abdicated, and was sent to Elba. The Comte de Provence, after twenty-three years of exile, returned to Paris as king, taking the title of Louis XVIII.

13. The War with the United States (1812-1814).—

The "Continental System" had imposed an intolerable burden on Europe, and had drawn Napoleon on to attack Portugal and Russia. For similar reasons the English counter-blow, the "Orders in Council," inflicted severe injury on the trade of foreign countries, and dragged her into an unhappy quarrel with the United States. The English prohibition of the direct trade of neutrals with any port from which English ships were excluded was a serious blow to the tobacco and sugar planters of the Southern States. England too late realised the dangerous

dispute into which she had drifted, and revoked the prohibition. The Southerners had a majority in Congress, and war was declared. On land the war was at first favourable to British arms, for the American attacks on Canada were repulsed by the colonists. But at sea England had the mortification to see herself defeated in a series of engagements between single ships. The end of the war in France at last enabled her to make a serious effort. A large body of the veterans of the Peninsular War, who had fought under Wellington in the south of France, were transported from Bordeaux by a fleet under Admiral Cockburn. The expedition sailed up the Chesapeake to attack Washington. The troops under General Ross defeated the Americans at Bladensburg, and destroyed the public buildings of the capital—an act of warfare which roused bitter indignation (1814). The other military operations of the British troops, the attacks on Plattsburg on Lake Champlain, and on Baltimore and New Orleans, were unsuccessful. At New Orleans Sir Edward Pakenham, who attempted to carry by storm a strongly entrenched position, was mortally wounded, and the British loss was very heavy (1815). Before the news of this defeat reached England, peace had been signed at Ghent (1814).

14. The "Hundred Days" (1815).—In 1814 a great Congress of the representatives of all the European Powers met at Vienna to decide the numerous questions which the overthrow of the Napoleonic ascendancy brought to the surface. The proceedings at once revealed the deep-seated jealousies between the great Powers, and Talleyrand, the French ambassador, taking advantage of the antagonisms of Prussia, Austria, and Russia, soon gained a decisive influence over the actions of the Congress. The Congress marks the formal triumph of the reaction against the principles of the Revolution; for its proceedings were characterised by a disregard of popular rights, of differences of race and religion, and of historical tradition, worthy of Napoleon in his most absolute days. Europe was treated as if it were "a blank map which might be divided into arbitrary districts of so many square

miles and so many inhabitants.”¹ The old system, dear to the politicians of eighteenth-century Europe, was revived on a grand scale, and once more, as Alberoni had said of the policy of his day, states and kingdoms were cut and pared “as if they were Dutch cheeses.” Amongst the diplomats thus engaged the news that Napoleon had left Elba and landed at Cannes (March 1, 1815) fell like a thunderbolt.

The accession of Louis XVIII. had been followed by a reaction amongst the French in favour of Napoleon, and, counting on this, the emperor threw himself on the support of the nation. While town after town opened its gates to him, and the troops sent against him rallied to his side, his rival, Louis XVIII., left Paris, and fled to Flanders. Napoleon entered the capital, and proclaimed himself emperor. He promised that his rule should be one of peace, and that the nation should receive a liberal constitution. His overtures to the Powers were met by a proclamation which denounced him as the public enemy of Europe. A combined invasion of France was at once agreed upon, and the armies of England and Prussia, under Wellington and Blücher, were massed in Belgium, where it was certain that the first blow would be struck.

Napoleon at once endeavoured to follow his favourite tactics of dealing his enemies separately an overwhelming blow before they had time to combine against him. He therefore crossed the Belgian frontier, and thrust his army between the forces of the allies. The Duke of Wellington's army was made up of British, Belgian, and Hanoverian troops, and to cover Brussels its lines extended from Charleroi to Ostend, while the Prussian army defended the line from Charleroi to Liège. Napoleon therefore cut the allied line at Charleroi, and attacked Blücher, while Marshal Ney marched northwards to prevent Wellington coming to the help of the Prussians. On June 16 Napoleon defeated Blücher at Ligny after a fierce struggle, but Ney, although successful in keeping Wellington from joining hands with Blücher, was unable to make any impression on

¹ Lodge, “History of Modern Europe.”

the British army posted at Quatre Bras, and was forced to fall back.

The two battles on which so much depended had thus only been a partial success for Napoleon's plans. The Prussians had not been crushed, and had succeeded in retreating on Wavre in good order, while Wellington, on June 17, was able to withdraw from Quatre Bras unmolested, and concentrate his troops at Waterloo, which was ten miles nearer to Brussels and within reach of the Prussians, at Wavre. To allow Blücher to escape was a blunder of the first magnitude, and to this Napoleon added a second by detaching the incompetent Grouchy with 30,000 men to pursue the Prussians in the wrong direction. Napoleon, in fact, could no longer command the fierce energy of body and mind, which had brought him victory on so many battle-fields. Although only forty-five years of age, a decay of his natural powers had begun. "I do not know him again," said one, who had known him in his early days of triumphant efficiency, "he talks instead of acting, he the man of rapid decisions; he asks opinions, he the imperious dictator, who seemed insulted by advice; his mind wanders, though he used to have the power of attending to everything, when and as he would; he is sleepy, and he used to be able to sleep and wake at pleasure."

On June 18, the last of Napoleon's battles was fought at Waterloo. The forces at the emperor's disposal were superior to those of Wellington in both numbers and quality, for the latter could not rely on the Dutch and Belgian contingents under his command. For practical purposes the British general had had 50,000 to oppose to Napoleon's 70,000, and besides this, he was decidedly inferior in cavalry and artillery. It was, therefore, imperative that Wellington should act on the defensive until Blücher could bring up the troops which he had promised. The morning was wasted by Napoleon in reviewing his troops, and it was not till midday that the attack began.

The battle consisted of five distinct attacks on the British position, each attack being preceded by a severe cannonade. The first was an attempt to capture the farm of Hougomont,

in front of the British right wing, and the attack was repelled. The second was an attempt to crush the English left wing, and this was defeated by the charge of the Scots Greys, the Enniskillen Dragoons, and the Royals, who drove the enemy down the slope and pursued them towards the French lines. The commanders of the cavalry, Picton and Ponsonby, were both killed. Napoleon then ordered Ney to force the British centre and right by a terrific charge of 15,000 cavalry, which was met by the British infantry drawn up in squares. For two hours the infantry sustained the charges of the cavalry and the pounding of the French artillery. In the midst of this, the third attack, Napoleon was forced to turn his attention to a fresh danger caused by the unexpected arrival of the Prussians, who threatened to cut his line at right angles, and thus expose his army to a flank attack. At this moment the farm of La Haye Sainte had been captured, and the English centre was giving way before the fourth attack, but the increasing pressure of the Prussian troops made it impossible for Napoleon to send reinforcements to support Ney. As a last resort the emperor ordered two columns of the "Old Guard," which he had held in reserve, with every available regiment, to deliver a final attack on the British line. The advance of the French was met by a murderous fire from a brigade of the English Guards, and as the French wavered, they were charged on the front and on the flank, and fell back down the hill in confusion. A general order to advance was given, and the British cavalry and infantry poured down into the valley, and turned the defeat into a rout. The Prussians pursued the flying regiments from the field.

Napoleon hurried to Paris, abdicated in favour of his son, and having failed to escape to America, surrendered at Rochefort to the captain of the British ship of war, the *Bellerophon*. "I have terminated my public career," he wrote to the Prince Regent, "and I come, like Themistocles, to seat myself at the hearth of the British people. I place myself under the protection of its laws, which I claim from your Royal Highness as the most powerful, the most constant, and the most generous

of my enemies." The appeal met with no response; it was felt that Napoleon had placed himself outside the rules of ordinary politics, and on arriving at Plymouth, Napoleon heard that he was condemned to imprisonment at St. Helena. Here he spent the six remaining years of his life, chafing bitterly at the restrictions imposed upon him.

15. The Peace of Paris (1815).—After the fall of Napoleon in 1814, terms of marked leniency had been granted to France. Her frontiers were to be those which she had acquired before 1792, and she even received territorial extensions in Savoy, and towards the Rhine. The terms offered after Waterloo were practically the same, except that France had to pay a war indemnity of £30,000,000, and submit to an army of occupation for five years. At the peace, England gave back her conquests, except the Cape of Good Hope, Malta, Mauritius, Tobago, St. Lucia, and Demerara. Shortly after the Peace of Paris the Congress of Vienna ended its labours. The Italian possessions of Austria were restored, together with Venice, but Belgium and Holland were united into the Kingdom of the Netherlands, and given to the House of Orange. Prussia gained territory at the expense of Saxony, and also extensions on her eastern and western frontiers. Russia received a larger share of Poland. The German States were united in a Confederacy, but its authority over its members was little more than nominal.

16. The Colonial Empire.—The Battle of Waterloo was the last act in the drama of hostility between England and France, which had been in progress since 1689. During the 126 years since the accession of William III., England had spent sixty-five years in fighting France. These seven great wars had arisen from different causes, but always in the background there stood the Colonial rivalry of England and France. The long struggle, which raged from the close of the seventeenth century to the opening years of the nineteenth, has been called by a great teacher of history, the Second Hundred Years' War with France.¹ The First Hundred

¹ "The Expansion of England." Sir John Seeley.

Years' War was an attempt on the part of England to conquer France, and it failed. The Second Hundred Years' War was, in one aspect, an attempt on the part of England to resist the domination of France in the New World, and it succeeded. It was fought out in America, in India, in Egypt, in the East and West Indies, and was waged on sea and land. Just as the elder Pitt said he would conquer America in Germany in the Seven Years' War, so France, in the war of American Independence, endeavoured to conquer England in Europe by supporting the revolted colonists. Napoleon, in 1799, aimed at attacking India by seizing Egypt, and the breach of the Peace of Amiens was followed by the Mahratta War in India, stimulated by French agents. If Napoleon had succeeded in crushing England at Trafalgar, and had carried out her invasion in 1805, the English colonies would have been the prize of France. This was prevented by the sea-power of England, and the Second Hundred Years' War left England ruling in safety the great Colonial Empire which she had built up during her seven great wars at the expense of France, Spain, and Holland.

17. Social Unrest (1815-1820).—Great Britain had now to face the problems which, during her struggle with Napoleon, had been slowly maturing. In the first place she had an enormous debt, over 800 millions, and the burden of taxation was crushing. Further, the great industrial and agricultural changes which had taken place since 1760 had revolutionised the life of her people, and had entailed terrible sufferings. The treatment of the Poor-Law problem during the last thirty-five years had been disastrous. In 1782, by Gilbert's Act, the work-house test, by which support was only given to the indigent if they entered a work-house, was abolished in favour of giving grants out of the rates supplementary of wages. This pernicious practice was largely extended by an important gathering of magistrates at the so-called "Speenhamland Parliament" (1795). The labouring classes were degraded by a system of doles at the public expense, and the poor-rate rose rapidly, till in 1813 it stood at seven millions. The system was mainly dictated by a benevolent desire to tide the labourers over a period of

distress, but its pauperising effect was patent everywhere. The distress was largely caused by the high price of wheat, and this in turn was due to the great increase of population, which necessitated the cultivation of inferior soils. After the peace, the importation of foreign corn largely increased, and the Government, to protect the farming interest, passed a protective law, forbidding the importation unless wheat rose above 80s. a quarter. The distress caused by unwise legislation led to agricultural riots. In the towns also the employment was uncertain, and the artisans, ascribing this to the increasing use of machinery, broke out in riots in which factories were wrecked.

Unfortunately the Government was in the hands of Lord Liverpool, and the narrowest section of the Tories, and popular excitement was met, not by the removal of grievances, but by the revival of the repressive measures of the end of the eighteenth century. The Habeas Corpus Act was suspended, public meetings were suppressed, and freedom of the Press was restricted. All projects of reform were met by unqualified opposition. In 1819 a great open-air meeting was planned at Manchester, in spite of the prohibition of the magistrates. These, therefore, ordered some cavalry to break into the meeting, and the result was a panic, in which several persons were killed and many seriously injured. The "Manchester Massacre," as it was called, roused violent indignation throughout the country, but the magistrates were publicly commended by the Government. A series of coercion acts, known as the "Six Acts," codified the harsh system of repression. It was amidst these circumstances of gloom and bitterness that the reign of George III. came to an end.

CHIEF EVENTS.

	A. D.
Pitt returns to office	1804.
Battle of Trafalgar	1805.
Death of Pitt	1806.
Slave-trade abolished	1807.
The Berlin Decree and the Orders in Council	1806, 1807.
Bombardment of Copenhagen	1807.
Peninsular War begins	1808.
Battles of Corunna and Talavera	1809.
The "Lines of Torres Vedras"	1810.
Battles of Fuentes d'Onoro and Albuera	1811.
Battle of Salamanca	1812.
Battle of Vittoria	1813.
Battle of Leipsic	1813.
Battle of Waterloo	1815.

CHAPTER XLIV.

GEORGE IV. (1820-1830) ; *WILLIAM IV.* (1830-1837).

1. The Cato Street Conspiracy (1820).—The accession of the regent to the throne as George IV. brought no change in the character of the Government. The narrow Tory Ministry of Lord Liverpool, with Castlereagh and Sidmouth as the representatives of the policy of repression, continued in office. The working classes were profoundly angered by the “Manchester Massacre,” and wild plans of insurrection were spread abroad. Thistlewood and a handful of desperate men plotted to seize and murder the ministers while they were dining at Lord Harrowby’s house in Grosvenor Square. This was to be followed by an attack on the Bank and the Tower. The plans were betrayed to the Government, and the conspirators were surrounded at their meeting-place in Cato Street. Thistlewood and four of his associates were executed. Riots also broke out in the north and in Scotland, and a collision took place between an armed force of Radicals and the yeomanry at Bonnymuir, near Glasgow. These outbreaks, however, only showed that the populace had no chance against the Government, armed with all the weapons of coercion, and by alarming the well-to-do classes they tended to put off the era of reform.

2. Caroline of Brunswick.—The married life of George IV. had been unhappy. The king had from the first conceived a dislike for his wife, and after the birth of their daughter, the Princess Charlotte, Caroline had lived apart from her husband. In 1814 Caroline went abroad, and by the foolishness of her conduct during her roving life on the Continent and in the East, she laid herself open to charges of grave

misconduct. Her husband sedulously collected all the evil reports that his spies brought him, in the hopes of obtaining from Parliament a decision nullifying his marriage. His own life, however, was notoriously profligate, and his treatment of his wife only aroused sympathy on behalf of a woman, who, whatever her faults might have been, had been cruelly wronged.

The king's accession at once brought matters to a crisis. Caroline returned to England, and was enthusiastically welcomed. An inquiry into her conduct was instituted by Lord Liverpool's Government, and a Bill was introduced into the Lords to dissolve her marriage. But it only passed the third reading by a small majority, and the Government, realising that the Commons would reject it, withdrew the measure. At the Coronation ceremony the queen tried to force her way into the Abbey, but her courage failed her, and she returned home. In the following month her death released the nation from an intolerable situation.

3. Ministerial Changes.—Throughout the struggle the cause of the queen had been espoused by the Opposition in Parliament, while Canning, the most enlightened of the Tories, had retired from the Ministry to avoid supporting measures against the queen, who had been one of his oldest friends. The Ministry was much shaken by the unpopularity which it had incurred, and to strengthen himself, Liverpool admitted the young statesman, Robert Peel, to the Home Office, from which Lord Sidmouth retired (1822). In 1822 Castlereagh, now Lord Londonderry, broke down under the strain of Parliamentary life, and committed suicide. His death gave the final blow to the system of repression under which every reform was treated as aiming at a revolution. The post of foreign minister was given to Canning, and Huskisson, the staunch supporter of a policy of Free Trade, became President of the Board of Trade. This admission of the liberal Tories transformed the Liverpool Ministry, and the dark days of coercion were followed by the opening of the era of reforms.

4. Reforms (1823–1825).—The English criminal code

was in a most chaotic state. While in France the great lawyers at Napoleon's bidding had codified French laws and removed many anomalies, the English system retained the barbarous penalties which had been handed down from the Middle Ages. Two hundred offences could be punished legally by death, and the crimes for which the death penalty was considered appropriate ranged from treason and murder down to such petty offences as robbing a rabbit-warren. The cause of reform had been upheld since 1808 by the humane lawyer Samuel Romilly, and through his influence the number of capital offences was reduced. After Romilly's death in 1818, Mackintosh took up the question, and in 1819 obtained a committee to report on the Criminal Law. It reported in favour of abolishing capital punishment in the case of a number of offences, but the opposition of the House of Lords frustrated much of its work. In 1823, however, Peel took up the subject, and bills were passed abolishing the death penalty in the case of a hundred offences.

The reforms of Huskisson at the Board of Trade were of great commercial importance. The Navigation Laws of the Commonwealth and Charles II., although undoubtedly instrumental in building up the naval power of England, had long outlived their justification. As we have seen, they contributed to the loss of the American colonies, and they were a constant source of friction with foreign powers. The United States and the other countries excluded from the English carrying trade retaliated by a similar policy, with the result that English ships carrying goods from America to England were not allowed to carry English goods to America on the return journey. The absurdity and wastefulness of the system became so patent that in 1822 Wallace, Vice-president of the Board of Trade, induced Parliament to repeal the chief provisions of the Navigation Act of Charles II. Huskisson continued the policy begun by Wallace, and obtained leave from Parliament to admit foreign ships to British ports, provided that British ships received the same treatment in foreign ports (1823).

The result of these reforms, and of those instituted in the

management of the revenue by Robinson, the chancellor of the exchequer, was a revival of national prosperity. Unfortunately the revival of commercial confidence led to a great outburst of speculative dealing and to the formation of a number of joint-stock companies, which traded on the credulity of the investing public. The Bank of England and the country banks were partly responsible for this by their excessive issue of bank-notes, and by the facilities which they afforded to borrowers, who aimed at taking advantage of the buoyancy of the markets in order to buy goods to sell at higher prices. The inevitable result was a financial crisis and the suspension of payment by a large number of banks which were unable to call in their loans. The panic went on throughout 1825, but the wise measures of the Government did much to allay the excitement, and by the close of the year it had subsided. The loss to the country had been, however, very severe.

5. Canning's Foreign Policy (1822-1827).—The fall of Napoleon had been mainly due to the fact that his violent conduct had roused the national spirit amongst the peoples whom he conquered. But at the Congress of Vienna the idea of nationality had been completely ignored, and the sovereigns of Continental States affected to regard their success as a vindication of the principles of despotism. Alexander I. of Russia, with Frederick William III. of Prussia, and Francis I. of Austria, formed in 1815 the Holy Alliance to stifle every tendency towards constitutional government in their own dominions, and in those of their neighbours. This policy Lord Castlereagh could not prevent, and the result was that the members of the Holy Alliance prepared to intervene in Naples, Spain, and Portugal, to put down popular movements. Austrian troops invaded Naples, and restored the authority of the Bourbon king, Ferdinand IV. (1821). In 1823 the Government of Louis XVIII. sent French troops to enable another Bourbon prince, Ferdinand VII., to crush the constitutional party in Spain.

The accession of Canning to power as foreign minister led to the abandonment of Castlereagh's policy of condoning

the high-handed action of the Holy Alliance. The new minister refused to admit the right of the great Powers to interfere in the internal concerns of their neighbours, and he sent troops to Portugal to defend that country against a threatened invasion by French and Spanish troops in the interests of despotism. He also declined to admit that the impotent efforts of Spain to regain her dominion over her revolted colonies in South America constituted any valid claim over them, and in 1824 he recognised the independence of Buenos Ayres, Colombia, and Mexico. "I resolved," he declared two years later, "that if France had Spain, it should not be Spain with the Indies; I called the New World into existence to redress the balance of the Old." Canning's action was rendered still more potent by the intervention of Monroe, President of the United States, who in 1823 laid down the famous "Monroe Doctrine," that the United States would regard as a hostile action any attempt on the part of the Holy Alliance to interfere in South America to reconquer the revolted colonies. This refusal to allow the Powers of Europe to intervene in order to alter the balance of power in South America has become a cardinal principle of the policy of the United States.

6. The Battle of Navarino (1827).—Since 1821 a fierce struggle had been carried on by Greece against her Turkish oppressors, and on the whole the Greek patriots had been successful. But it was clear that the Greeks would, in the long run, succumb, unless the European Powers came to their assistance. England naturally sympathised with the Greeks, and many Englishmen, Lord Byron amongst them, joined the Greek forces. But there was also a widespread fear lest Russia should utilise the Greek revolt in order to further her plans for the conquest of Turkey. An unexpected turn was given to the course of events by the action of the Turks. In 1825 Mehemet Ali, the Pasha of Egypt, sent an army of 17,000 men, under his son Ibrahim, to help his suzerain, the Sultan, to crush the Greeks. The superior training of the Egyptian troops soon changed the aspect of affairs, and the prospects

of Greek independence seemed hopeless. The Peloponnese was conquered, and it was currently believed that Ibrahim had determined to transport the Greeks as slaves to Africa, and to repeople the country with Mahommedans. The Greeks appealed to England, and offered the Greek Crown to the Duke of Sussex, brother of George IV. It was obviously impossible that the offer should be accepted, but Canning was able to induce Russia and France to sign the Treaty of London (1827), by which the two Powers were to act as mediators, and to demand that meanwhile hostilities should cease. The British Mediterranean fleet, under Sir Edward Codrington, was ordered to proceed to Greece to enforce the armistice. In doing so it was to act in concert with the Russian and French fleets. Turkey refused the armistice, and the arrival of reinforcements on board a Turco-Egyptian fleet made decisive action imperative if the Greeks were to be saved from extermination. The British, French and Russian squadrons sailed into Navarino Bay, where Ibrahim Pasha had concentrated his fleet and army, and it was decided to put a stop to the cruelties which Ibrahim's troops were practising on the unhappy Greeks. The Turkish fleet was anchored in the shape of a horseshoe, and after a fruitless endeavour to patch up terms, the allies were forced to proceed to hostilities. After a battle of four hours the Turkish fleet was annihilated, and the cause of Greek independence was saved (October 20, 1827). In 1829 Russian troops crossed the Balkans and advanced to Adrianople. Turkey had to purchase a peace by territorial cessions to Russia, and by recognising the independence of Greece. The Crown of Greece was offered to various princes, and was ultimately accepted by Otho, son of the King of Bavaria (1832).

7. The Death of Canning (1827).—Meanwhile, before the victory of Navarino had been won, important ministerial changes had taken place at home. Early in 1827 Lord Liverpool had been attacked by apoplexy, and George IV., much against his inclinations, was forced to appoint Canning to the premiership. A large section of the Tory party, headed

by the Duke of Wellington, profoundly distrusted Canning's liberal tendencies, especially with reference to the urgent question of Catholic Emancipation, and Canning's accession to power led to the secession of Wellington, Peel, and other members of the Liverpool Ministry. But Canning could count on the support of the Whigs in following a policy of reform, and before long the Whigs, Lansdowne and Tierney, joined the Ministry. This alliance, however, only increased the resentment of the extreme Tories, and the Government was fiercely attacked in both Houses. Canning's health, already enfeebled, rapidly gave way under the strain of the Parliamentary struggle, and he died on August 8, 1827. The tragic swiftness of his end stilled the animosities which his brilliant career had aroused, and the whole nation remembered with gratitude the services which he rendered in his later years to the cause of constitutional liberty at home and abroad.

8. The Ministry of Lord Goderich (1827-1828).—The Ministry of Canning was followed by Lord Goderich, the "Prosperity Robinson," who had been chancellor of the exchequer in the later years of Liverpool's administration. The new prime minister proved quite unequal to the task of reconciling the conflicting views of his colleagues, and, in particular, ministers were hopelessly at variance over the questions of policy which arose out of the Battle of Navarino. Canning had died two months before the policy of befriending Greece had reached its logical end, and "Goody Goderich," as he was called, recoiled from a rupture with Turkey, and by his vacillating policy left the solution of the Greek difficulty to be undertaken by Russia. The Battle of Navarino was mentioned in the king's speech at the opening of Parliament as an "untoward event." Fortunately, after seven months of office, Goderich realised his own incompetence to conduct the affairs of the nation, and the king's sarcastic order "to go home and take care of himself," came as a relief to the distressed minister. Wellington was offered, and accepted, the post of prime minister, and appointed as his colleagues, Huskisson and Palmerston, and a number of other Tories, who

had served under Lord Liverpool. The Whigs, who had joined in the Canning and Goderich ministries, retired from office.

9. Catholic Emancipation (1829).—Wellington had accepted office from the king, pledged not to support the policy of justice to Catholics, but the situation in Ireland soon forced him to reconsider his position. Early in 1828 Lord John Russell defeated the Government in the Commons on a motion in favour of repealing the Test and Corporation Acts, and of thus removing the political penalties attached to the profession of Nonconformist doctrines. The Government was compelled to assent to the abolition of the old sacramental test, and to the substitution of an oath pledging the Dissenter who accepted office not to injure the Established Church.

This concession to Dissent threw the justice of Catholic claims into bolder relief, and the question was at once pressed on Parliament by Sir Francis Burdett, while the agitation in Ireland soon made it impossible to withhold the concession. Since 1822 Ireland had been in a state of unrest, with the usual result that the Government resorted to coercion. This was met by the formation of the Catholic Association by O'Connell, and the organisation soon became so powerful that in 1825 it was suppressed for a time by Parliament. The agitation, however, continued, and was brought to a climax in 1828, when O'Connell was elected for County Clare in opposition to Fitzgerald, President of the Board of Trade. As matters then stood, O'Connell, as a Catholic, was incapacitated from taking the seat, but the power of the Association, which had been revived, was so overwhelming that Wellington, after much hesitation, decided to beat a retreat. By threatening to resign, Wellington coerced the king into submission, and in 1829 the Catholic Emancipation Act was passed. This admitted Catholics to both Houses of Parliament, and to all offices, civil and military, except those of regent, of lord chancellor, and of Lord-Lieutenant of Ireland.

10. Wellington's Foreign Policy (1828-1830).—The

reign of George IV. closed with memorable concessions to the spirit of liberal reform. But these were wrung from the king by the force of circumstances, and the credit of carrying them out is merely due to Wellington's sense that further opposition to them would entail the most serious dangers. In other directions Wellington's Ministry was less successful. In the settlement of the Greek question his wishes were set at naught by Russia, and he showed no capacity for dealing with the grave constitutional questions which were being raised in every quarter on the Continent. In Portugal the Pretender, Dom Miguel, was allowed to dethrone his niece, Donna Maria, and to replace the constitutional system by a despotism. In France the Government of Charles X. was tending more and more towards an absolutist reaction, and it was generally believed that Wellington approved of the policy of Prince Polignac, the French prime minister. Wellington was, in fact, looked upon by continental Conservatives as the upholder of the settlement of 1815, which he had done so much to establish. But the artificial arrangements which the Congress of Vienna had created were breaking down, and Wellington was unable to decide on an effective foreign policy. He had alienated the extreme Tories by his concessions to Catholics and Dissenters, and the Liberals were indignant at his failures in Greece and Portugal. The influence of England in Europe had steadily declined since the death of Canning, and this was with justice ascribed to Wellington's timid policy. The death of George IV. made sweeping political changes inevitable, and set England once more on the path of political progress.

11. The Accession of William IV. (1830).—The late king died without direct heirs, for his only child, Princess Charlotte, had died in 1817. As a consequence, his brother, William, Duke of Clarence, came to the throne. The new king had acquired popularity by his easy-going manners, and by his services in the navy. His character, though eccentric, was kindly, and his subjects were pleased by his willingness to move amongst them without the rigid etiquette which his brother had exacted. The reign therefore opened auspiciously,

and while on the Continent the "July Revolution" (1830) led to the deposition of Charles X., and the accession of Louis Philippe as a constitutional king, in England no reaction was produced like that after 1789; but, on the contrary, an impulse was given to the reforming party. Before the end of the year Wellington, believing that any attempt to reform Parliament would mean a revolution, declared in the Lords that the existing parliamentary system was perfect, and could not be improved upon. This challenge to the party of reform was promptly met, and a fortnight after this absurd declaration the Wellington Ministry was compelled to resign. The king at once gave office to the Whigs under Lord Grey (1830).

12. The Reform Bill (1832).—The parliamentary system which Wellington so strongly admired was a compound of the strangest anomalies, and of the most foolish anachronisms, and only the shrewd common-sense of the members of the Legislature had prevented Parliament from failing to discharge its functions as interpreter of the wishes of the nation. Since the Model Parliament of 1295 profound changes had taken place in the composition of the House of Commons through the lapse of time and the interference of the Crown. Under the Tudors the borough representation had been nearly doubled, and the right of representation had been given to out-of-the-way places where the influence of the Crown could be easily exercised. The result was that while large towns like Leeds, Birmingham, and Manchester, were unrepresented, decayed hamlets, like Old Sarum, returned two members at the bidding of the neighbouring landowner. Even in the towns which were represented, the right to vote was severely restricted, so that it was shown in 1793 that two hundred members were returned by places in which the number of electors ranged from one hundred to seven. Great noblemen, like the Duke of Norfolk and Lord Lonsdale, controlled the elections in a number of boroughs, and put in their own nominees. The traffic in seats was notorious, and was so well understood, that Pitt, in 1785 had proposed to buy out the great borough-mongers by the bribe of a million pounds.

The question of parliamentary reform had been agitated under George III. The elder Pitt denounced the borough representation as "the rotten part of the constitution," and in 1776 Wilkes proposed a measure of reform. The younger Pitt's plans on the subject failed, through the opposition of George III., and the reaction against the French Revolution postponed for forty years the opportunity for reform. After the peace of 1815 the question revived, and Sir Francis Burdett, Lord Grey, and Lord John Russell, pressed the subject on Parliament. The death of George IV. and the impulse given to popular aspirations by the revolution of 1830 in France made the demand for reform irresistible. Lord Grey at once announced that the Government staked its existence on the question of reform, and the presence in the Ministry of Brougham, Lord John Russell, and Lord Durham, was a proof that the Ministry was in earnest.

In 1831 Russell brought forward the first Reform Bill, which passed the second reading by a majority of one. The Ministry therefore determined to appeal to the country, and at the general elections a large majority in favour of reform was returned. The new House of Commons sanctioned the second Reform Bill by a majority of one hundred and nine, but it was rejected by the Lords. After a prorogation the third Reform Bill was brought forward, and was passed by the Commons (1832). The House of Lords accepted the principle of the Bill by passing its second reading, but in committee amendments were threatened which would have mutilated the Bill. After some hesitation on the part of the king, which involved a temporary resignation of the Ministry, William IV. agreed to coerce the Lords by a threat of creating peers sufficient in number to secure the passing of the Bill. The Lords gave way, and the Reform Bill was passed. Fifty-six rotten boroughs were abolished, and thirty boroughs lost one member. The number of county members was increased by one-third, and London and other large towns received an adequate representation. The right of voting in the counties and towns was given to a fairly wide electorate composed mainly of the middle classes.

13. The Reformed Parliament (1833-1835).—The extension of the franchise was not followed by the revolutionary changes which the Tories had feared. On the contrary, a number of moderate reforms were passed during the first reformed Parliament. In 1833 an Emancipation Act ordered that all slaves should be liberated after 1834, and granted £20,000,000 as compensation to the slave-owners. In 1834 a new Poor Law was passed abolishing the demoralising system of doles from the poor-rates to supplement the wages of the working-classes. The "Workhouse Test" was re-established, and to provide more efficiently for the poor, unions of parishes were formed, governed by Guardians of the Poor elected by the ratepayers. The poor-rates fell in a few years from eight millions to less than five. In 1835 the question of municipal reform was also taken up, and the Municipal Corporation Act was passed. This swept away the oligarchical municipal corporations and created municipalities elected by the ratepayers.

Before this programme of reform had been completed a change had taken place in the Ministry. Lord Grey's administration from the first had been weakened by the presence in it of a number of Conservative members who had little real sympathy with the changes which were in progress. In 1834 several of these resigned. Lord Grey himself felt that enough had been done for the present, and when a quarrel broke out in the Cabinet on the subject of Ireland, the Prime Minister retired from office. He was succeeded by Lord Melbourne, who took office with a number of the old ministers under him. The Ministry, however, offended the king by its policy on the question of Church reform in England and Ireland, and in the winter of 1834 it was dismissed. The king then sent for Sir Robert Peel, who, since 1830, had been organising the forces of the Conservative party in Parliament and the country. Peel was supported by Wellington, Aberdeen, and Lyndhurst, and, to test the opinion of the country, he advised the king to dissolve Parliament. At the general election a large number of Conservatives were elected, but the Liberals were still in a

majority, and after a brave struggle the Peel Ministry had to resign. The influence of the Crown had markedly declined since George III., and William IV. could not impose a minister on Parliament as his father had done in the case of Pitt in 1784. Lord Melbourne and the Whigs returned to power (1835).

14. Lord Palmerston's Foreign Policy.—Since 1830 with short interruptions, the foreign policy of the country had been directed by Lord Palmerston, an Irish peer, who had entered political life as a Tory, but had passed over to the Whigs. He served in the Wellington Ministry, but he had retired from it with Huskisson and the other Canningite Tories in 1828, and in 1830 he became Secretary for foreign affairs in the Grey, and subsequently in the Melbourne administrations. He was in favour of a policy of non-intervention in foreign affairs, provided that the reactionary governments of the Holy Alliance did not interfere to crush the constitutional movement on the Continent. He thus upheld the policy which he had learnt from his master Canning. In 1815 the Congress of Vienna had united Catholic Belgium to Protestant Holland as the kingdom of the Netherlands, but the mutual jealousies of the two countries soon showed that the union could not last. The effect of the July revolution of 1830 in France was to encourage the Belgian patriots, and an insurrection broke out which drove the Dutch garrisons out of the country. French troops advanced to help the Belgians, and although England warmly sympathised with the revolution, she saw with apprehension the possibility of Belgium passing definitely under French influence. Fortunately Louis Philippe refused to allow his son to accept the offer of the Belgian crown, and ultimately, through the armed intervention of England and France, the independence of Belgium was recognised by the Dutch Government. Leopold of Saxe-Coburg became King of the Belgians (1831).

In Portugal Palmerston was equally successful in upholding the cause of constitutional liberty. In 1833, Dom Miguel, the usurper of the Portuguese throne, was defeated by the

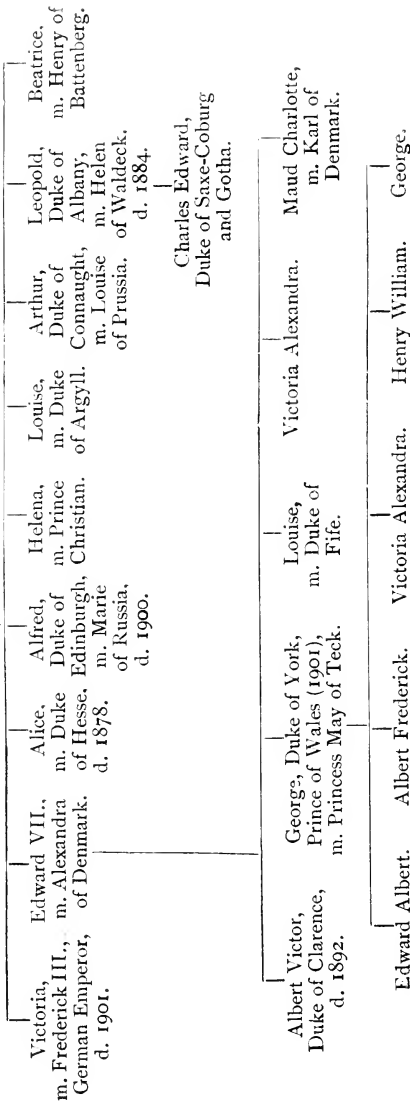
adherents of Donna Maria, and the latter was crowned queen, But as Dom Miguel still continued to maintain a hold on some part of Portugal, England and France intervened and procured his withdrawal. At the same time, through Palmerston's influence, the disputed succession to the Spanish throne was peaceably settled, and the constitutional system was for the moment secured. Unfortunately the war between the child-queen, Isabella of Spain, and her rival, Don Carlos, was renewed, but on the whole, backed by the support of England, Isabella's party maintained its position. English influence in Spain, however, roused the jealousies of France, and weakened the co-operation of the two countries which had produced such good results.

CHIEF EVENTS.

	A. D.
Battle of Navarino	1827.
Test and Corporation Acts repealed	1828.
Catholic Emancipation Act	1829.
Reform Bill	1832.

THE SAXE-COBURG AND GOTHA DYNASTY.

Victoria = Albert, Prince of
1837-1901. | Saxe-Coburg and Gotha,
d. 1861.



CHAPTER XLV.

VICTORIA (1837-1901).

(1) NATIONAL PROGRESS (1837-1852).

1. The Queen's Accession.—On June 20, 1837, William IV. died, and the longest and most beneficent reign in the history of England began. The late king was succeeded by his niece Victoria, daughter of his brother, the Duke of Kent. The Queen, now in her nineteenth year, had been most carefully trained for her high position by her widowed mother, the Duchess of Kent, and she at once won the respect and affection of her subjects by the simple dignity and straightforwardness of her conduct. From the first she showed her intention of ruling as a constitutional sovereign, untouched by the jealousies and intrigues inevitable in a system of party government. Her reign was destined to be one of vast material and intellectual progress, but the Queen never lost sight of the principles of liberty on which a sovereignty, based on the will of the people, must rest its claim to loyalty. There was still much in the British Constitution which was undeveloped, and the changes in the relations of the Crown to Parliament, and of Parliament to the nation, together with the thousand difficult problems arising from the needs of an expanding Empire, might easily have led to the raising of dangerous constitutional questions. But it was the merit of the Queen to be ever on the side of prudent concession, and it was her supreme achievement to have raised immeasurably the dignity and value of her great position, and, as far as Great Britain is concerned, to have saved the cause of constitutional monarchy.

2. The Melbourne Ministry (1837-1841).—One great advantage of the Queen's accession was the severance of the

connection with Hanover, which dated from 1714. The Hanoverian succession was regulated by the Salic Law, and the Queen's uncle, Ernest, Duke of Cumberland, therefore succeeded. The disappearance of a source of entanglement in continental politics was welcome to the nation. Moreover, the young Queen was fortunate in having Lord Melbourne as her chief adviser, for the prime minister, though almost anxious to bear the reputation of levity and frivolity in the world of politics, showed to the Queen a tender solicitude for her happiness, and a desire to spare her much of the anxiety which shadows a throne. Till the Queen's marriage to Albert of Saxe-Coburg in 1840, Melbourne stood beside her as a most wise and prudent counsellor, and, as a contemporary writes, he made it "his province to educate, instruct, and form the most interesting mind in the world." The Queen's happy marriage placed at her side a young prince, fully qualified to undertake the office of confidential adviser, and the unostentatious manner in which the Prince Consort carried out the difficult task gained the respect of those qualified to appreciate his work.

The early years of the reign were disturbed by the Chartist agitation organised by the Irishman, Feargus O'Connor. The effect of the Reform Bill of 1832 had been to admit the middle classes to political power, and the lower classes were disappointed by their exclusion. The "People's Charter" demanded six concessions; universal suffrage, vote by ballot, payment of members of Parliament, equal electoral divisions, annual Parliaments, and the abolition of the property qualification for members. The agitation was disgraced by serious disturbances, and the huge petition presented by the Chartists to Parliament was rejected (1839). Riots followed at Birmingham and Newport which discredited the cause of the reforms. The Ministry had been, however, for a long time in a precarious state, and in 1839 Melbourne resigned. Sir Robert Peel, the brilliant organiser of the Conservative Party, was called on to form a Ministry, but failed owing to a difficulty with the Queen on the question of whether the ladies of her household should retire with the outgoing Whig members to whom they were

related. The Queen refused to give way on the "Bedchamber Question," and Peel therefore declined office. Melbourne returned to power, but in 1841 the Conservatives obtained a majority at the general election, and Peel succeeded Melbourne as prime minister.

3. Canada (1837-1840).—An important step was taken in 1840 towards the great system of self-governing colonies on which the Empire is now based. In 1791 Pitt's Act had divided the colony into Upper and Lower Canada, each with its governor and legislature. The governor appointed his ministers who were not responsible to the legislature, and except by refusing supplies, the latter could do little to influence the executive. Besides this there were the racial jealousies between the British and French Canadians, especially in Lower Canada. In 1837 a rebellion broke out which was suppressed without much difficulty. Parliament thereupon suspended the constitution of Canada, and Lord Durham was sent in 1838 as High Commissioner to devise a settlement. The leaders of the rebellion were banished, and Lord Durham prepared a report on the subject of the future government of Canada. His treatment of the conspirators was denounced in Parliament, and he was recalled. His recommendations were nevertheless embodied in the Canada Bill of 1840, which re-united the two provinces under one legislature to which the executive was responsible. This wise measure soon secured the loyalty of the colonists.

4. Asiatic Affairs (1833-1843).—The growth of the British Empire in the East was marked by troubles in China, India, and Afghanistan. The Chinese Government wished to stop the importation of opium from India, and a war, in which the Chinese were easily defeated, was the unhappy reply of the English to the attempt of China to put down a trade harmful to her people. China was compelled to allow tacitly the import of the baneful drug, to cede Hong-kong, and to open five of her ports to British trade (1842).

In India the methods of the progress of British influence can be viewed with more satisfaction. Under a succession of

able viceroys British prestige steadily increased. In 1816 the Ghorkas, of Nepal on the northern frontier, were conquered, and in 1818 the Third Mahratta War was brought to a safe conclusion. In 1826 Lower Burmah was annexed, while the foundations of the British power in central India were laid. In 1833, at the renewal of the East India Company's charter, its monopoly of the Indian trade was abolished.

British expansion in northern India brought about a collision with Afghanistan. To meet Russian intrigues in that country, the Governor-General, Lord Auckland, in 1839 sent an army to depose the Ameer, Dost Mahommed, in favour of the English candidate, Shah Soojah. The expedition occupied the capital, Cabul, but its position became precarious, and it had to retreat through a hostile country. The retreat proved disastrous, and the army was annihilated (1842). Lord Ellenborough, who succeeded Auckland, reversed his predecessor's policy, and proclaimed the policy of non-intervention in Afghan affairs. At the same time, to restore British prestige, an expedition was sent under General Pollock, which captured Cabul and rescued the English prisoners. The country was then evacuated, and in 1843 Dost Mahommed was restored. The whole war had thus been a blunder of the first magnitude.

5. The Repeal Movement (1841-1847.)—The Catholic Emancipation Act had been too long delayed to be regarded by the Irish as more than an instalment of justice, and Irish dissatisfaction found its expression in O'Connell's agitation for the repeal of the Act of Union. The fact that Emancipation, like all other English concessions to Ireland, had been extorted by threats of violence, did not increase the respect of the Irish for the courage of the Government, and it was fortunate that O'Connell threw himself on the side of pacific methods of agitation, and kept down the bolder spirits amongst the Irish, known as the "Physical Force Party." With a peasantry rendered almost desperate by social distress, and justly incensed by a cruel land system, and by the maintenance of an alien Church which represented a portion only of the Protestant minority, Ireland presented a sad spectacle of English misrule.

O'Connell had joined the Whigs on his entering Parliament, and his great oratorical powers had been enlisted on the side of reforms. He combined a deep attachment to the Catholic religion with the advocacy of freedom in politics and in trade, and he therefore, on the whole, supported the Melbourne Ministry. But at the accession of Peel to power in 1841, he declared his hostility to the Tory party, and pushed forward the Repeal agitation, in the belief that the revocation of the Act of Union would strengthen the connection between the two countries. The Repeal Association was established, and was warmly supported by the "Young Ireland Party," represented by the *Nation* newspaper, ably conducted by Gavan Duffy, Thomas Davis, and John Dillon. Peel met the agitation by threats of coercion, which made O'Connell's policy of constitutional agitation difficult to uphold against the Physical Force section of his followers. Huge meetings were held, at which O'Connell, the "Liberator," as his followers called him, declared that Home Rule was inevitable. In 1843 O'Connell and the leaders of the movement were arrested on a charge of conspiracy to sow sedition, and a verdict of condemnation was obtained from a packed jury (1844). The verdict was, however, reversed on technical grounds by the House of Lords.

O'Connell's health had suffered during the period of imprisonment, and he was seriously alarmed by the spread of revolutionary doctrines amongst his followers. He could not sanction the appeal to force, and his political influence waned as his energy declined. He died in 1847, on his journey to Rome, realising that his high hopes had been frustrated, but comforted by the love and veneration of his fellow-countrymen. His character was drawn in bold outlines, and its defects, his tendency to coarse invective and unmeasured declamation, shocked his contemporaries; but these blemishes lay on the surface of his nature, and in the hearts of the Irish nation have weighed as nothing against his passionate love of the ideals of political justice, as he conceived them, and his unswerving devotion to the interests of his country.

6. The Anti-Corn-Law Agitation (1838-1846).—

During the wars with France (1793-1815) the price of wheat had greatly increased, and the farmers and landed classes had reaped enormous profits. At the peace the price of wheat fell, through the competition of foreign supplies, and in 1815 the Government, under the influence of the agricultural interest, had imposed a prohibitive duty, which excluded foreign wheat unless the home-grown supply rose above 80s. a quarter. This policy was the cause of cruel suffering to the working classes, and in 1828 the sliding-scale system was substituted. By this the import duty on foreign wheat was lowered as the price of English wheat rose, the aim being to keep the price of wheat at a level sufficiently high to give the farmer a good rate of profits. In other words, the artisan in the towns, whose wages were subjected to the influences of competition, was compelled to buy the bread on which he spent nearly half his income at a higher price in order to support the farmer and landlord. The system proved increasingly difficult to maintain, and a succession of bad harvests, ranging from 1837-1842, made a modification of the corn-law policy imperative.

In 1838 the Anti-Corn-Law League was founded at Manchester by Cobden, Bright, Villiers, and other free-traders, and a great agitation was set on foot. The accession to power of the Conservatives under Peel, in 1841, seemed to threaten a prolongation of the Corn Laws, but, contrary to expectation, their abolition was carried by a Ministry largely composed of Tory landlords and by a party which had obtained power mainly through the support of the landed interest. Cobden had entered Parliament in 1841, and in spite of the hostility of the majority, his lucid explanation of the doctrine of Free Trade made a profound impression, while his arguments received practical illustration in the failure of the protective system to insure prosperity. The public revenue was diminishing, and the working classes were suffering from the severe depression in trade. In 1842 Peel introduced the income-tax as a temporary expedient to tide over a period of difficulty, and at the same time he took a step towards the Free Trade

position by diminishing the duties on over seven hundred imported articles. The sliding-scale tax on imported wheat was retained in spite of the Anti-Corn-Law League, but keen observers noted that Peel's policy was in a state of transition, which must end in Free Trade. The further removal, in 1845, of the duties on raw material alarmed Peel's followers, and led Disraeli to declare that a Conservative Government was "an organised hypocrisy." Peel's conversion to Free Trade was precipitated by the terrible potato famine in Ireland (1845), and the prime minister, recognising the futility of the sliding-scale, announced his change of opinions to the Cabinet. After a ministerial crisis involving Peel's temporary resignation, he returned to office pledged to Free Trade, and in 1846 the repeal of the Corn Laws was carried. The Conservative Protectionists revenged themselves by combining with the Liberals on the question of a coercion bill for Ireland, and the rejection of the bill led to Peel's resignation.

7. England and France (1844-1848).—In carrying the repeal of the Corn Laws, Peel had sacrificed the fortunes of the Conservative party, which he had done so much to create, to the wider considerations of national interest, and for nearly thirty years, except for two short periods, in 1852 and 1858, the Conservatives were excluded from power. The Russell Ministry had for its leading members Lord Palmerston as foreign secretary, and Lord Grey as colonial secretary. Palmerston was pledged to continue the foreign policy of Lord Aberdeen, who had directed foreign affairs in Peel's Government, but friendly relations with France since 1844 had been seriously endangered by the action of Louis Philippe's Government. The French king had determined to arrange a marriage for Isabella, the young Queen of Spain, which should serve the interests of France. With complete disregard of his promises to England, that there should be no immediate alliance between the royal houses of France and Spain, Louis Philippe promoted a marriage between Isabella and her cousin Francisco d'Assis, Duke of Cadiz, and at the same time arranged a marriage between Isabella's sister and heiress, Louise, and his son, the

Duke de Montpensier. The French king had reason to hope that Isabella's marriage would be fruitless, and that the Spanish crown would thus pass to a French prince.

England was profoundly irritated by this treacherous act on the part of her ally, and the friendship with France ceased. Louis Philippe, however, was the first to suffer for his shifty diplomacy, and, without a supporter in Europe, he was unable to meet the impending revolution in France. In 1848 he was deposed, and fled to England, while the Second Republic was proclaimed. A revolutionary movement swept over Europe, but before the end of the year a reaction had set in, and, except in the case of France, little effect was produced.

8. Ireland (1848).—Since 1845 the condition of Ireland had gone from bad to worse. In 1846 the potato famine was renewed, and in its track came a plague, which swept away thousands already enfeebled by starvation. The relief works established by the Government were a costly failure. Starvation brought men to a state of desperation, and the increase of crime was met by the Coercion Act of 1847. The landlords aggravated the misery of the unhappy country by clearing their estates of tenants who, during the frightful period of distress, could not pay rent, and through the poor-rates became a burden on the land-owning class. The cruelty of evictions at such a time shocked public opinion in England, but nothing was done to stop them. As a consequence, the Physical Force Party in 1848 came to the front, and the Young Ireland Party attempted a rebellion. Smith O'Brien, Dillon, and Meagher raised forces, but the movement was easily crushed, and the leaders were transported for life.

9. The Tractarian Movement (1833-1850).—In 1833 a movement had begun within the Established Church which was destined to modify profoundly the religious aspect of the country. A group of Oxford men, of commanding ability and of great religious earnestness, started the *Tracts for the Times*, in which the claims of the National Church to be a part of the Catholic Church were drawn out with great eloquence. The Reformation was minimised, and members of the Established

Church, who had been brought up in the Evangelical Protestantism dominant in the early part of the century, were alarmed at being told that their Protestant beliefs were erroneous, and that Rome after all had maintained the Christian Faith. The High Church position adopted by Laud was revived and expounded by John Henry Newman, John Keble, Dr. Pusey, and many others. A serious attempt was made to realise a *Via Media* between certain errors ascribed by the Tractarians to the Catholic Church and the disintegrating tendencies of popular Protestantism.

The Oxford Movement roused fierce opposition, and a crisis was provoked when Newman issued *Tract* 90, in which the Thirty-nine Articles were defended on the ground that they did not deny the Catholic doctrines as set forth by the Council of Trent, because they were drawn up prior to the Tridentine decrees, and might therefore be interpreted in an orthodox sense. Newman was denounced as a traitor to the Protestant Church. Viewing the disapprobation of the bishops as a condemnation of his belief that the doctrines of the Tractarian party were the doctrines of the English Church to the exclusion of the Low Church interpretation, he resigned his position as a clergyman in 1843, and set himself to study closely the doctrines of the Catholic Church. The serious flaws in the High Church position had been already forced on his unwilling mind by his study of the history of the early Church, as well as by the conduct of the Protestant authorities, and the result of his studies was the conviction that only in the Catholic Church could be found the fulness of the doctrines in which he believed, and the guarantee of their truth. In 1845 Newman was received into the Catholic Church, and his conversion was followed by that of many clergy and laity of the Established Church. The majority, however, still clung to the High Church position, but a series of doctrinal decisions, affecting their deepest convictions, drove many of them, including Henry Edward Manning, Henry Wilberforce, and William George Ward, to submit to the authority of the Catholic Church.

Dr. Pusey remained to organise the shattered forces of the Tractarians, and to continue the teaching which has revolutionised the aspect of Protestantism in England. The result has been the spreading outside the borders of the Catholic Church of a belief in Catholic doctrines and practices, which has raised the tone of religious life in England, and has borne fruit in works of charity and devotion. But this has been accompanied by the virtual abandonment of the position for which Newman had contended; for the party which in 1833 claimed to be the authoritative exponent of the doctrines of the English Church has come to be contented with the humbler position of a tolerated "school of thought," and to remain in communion with bishops and fellow-Churchmen who repudiate the belief in dogma and a sacramental system.

For English Catholics, the adhesion of a number of distinguished converts, trained in the great schools and universities, proved a source of strength. In 1850 Pope Pius IX. re-established a Catholic hierarchy in England. This measure produced a violent outburst of Protestant hostility, and Parliament, led by Lord John Russell, the premier, passed the Ecclesiastical Titles Bill (1851), forbidding the Catholic bishops to adopt territorial titles; but it remained a dead letter from the first, and in 1871 Mr. Gladstone obtained its repeal.

10. Steam Transport (1800-1850).—The early half of the nineteenth century was the period in which the germs of all the great economic developments of the present day were formed. Population, which in 1800 was eight millions, had increased by the middle of the century to eighteen millions. Side by side with the development had come great changes in every direction. In every industry steam-power was enormously increasing the productiveness of man's labour, and the application of steam to transport by sea and land, as well as to manufactures, was already tending to make the world one vast trading community. In 1825 George Stephenson was appointed engineer of the Stockton and Darlington Railway, the first line on which goods and passengers were carried by

steam-power, and this was followed by the construction of the Liverpool and Manchester Railway under Stephenson's guidance. In 1829 his improved locomotive, the "Rocket," made the record journey of twenty-nine miles an hour. The opening of the new railway, in 1830, inaugurated the era of rapid and cheap transit, and by the middle of the century most of the great lines of the present day had been begun. As early as 1802 a steamboat had been constructed by Symington, but it was not till 1812 that Henry Bell built the *Comet*, which ran as a passenger steamer on the Clyde. In 1838 Transatlantic steam transit began with the *Sirius* and *Great Western*. This development of facilities for transport led in 1839 to the establishment of penny postage, through the strenuous advocacy of Rowland Hill, and in 1846 the electric telegraph system was established.

11. Industrial Organisation (1800-1850).—The vast industrial changes of this period were unfortunately not without drawbacks; and in many cases a bitter feeling was aroused by the contrast between the remuneration of the capitalist and that of the labourer. Moreover, at the beginning of the century, the workman was forbidden by what were called the "Combination Laws" to combine to get higher wages. By various Acts, dating from Edward VI. onwards, it was made a penal offence for the artisan to form unions to obtain higher wages or shorter hours of labour. In 1824, however, these laws were repealed, and trade unions were tacitly allowed, although it was not till the Trades Union Act of 1871 that their legal status was definitely recognised. This act of justice was unfortunately followed by severe struggles between labour and capital, called "strikes," too often marked by acts of violence on the parts of the strikers; but with the spread of a more conciliatory spirit amongst employers, and a greater sense of responsibility amongst the leaders of the employed, industrial warfare, though unhappily still prevalent, has come to be regarded as only justifiable when all other means of adjustment have failed.

The position of the working classes during the period was

also much improved by the Factory Acts, which insisted that the artisans should work under conditions which were not dangerous to health. In 1802 an Act had ordered that children should not work more than twelve hours a day, but it had remained a dead letter, and the practice by which the workhouses relieved the poor-rates by apprenticing workhouse children to manufacturers resulted in practical slavery. The evils of employing children became so grave that a movement was started for Factory Reform by Robert Owen, Richard Oastler, Michael Sadler, and Lord Ashley, better known as the Earl of Shaftesbury. In 1833 a Factory Act was passed, limiting the hours of labour for children and persons under eighteen, but the law was confined to the textile industries, and its provisions were to a great extent evaded. In 1840 Lord Ashley procured the appointment of a Royal Commission to inquire into the subject, and in 1844 a new Act was passed reducing the hours of work for children to six and a half, and extending other protective provisions to adult workers. Dangerous machinery was to be fenced in, factories were to be kept in a sanitary condition, and the system of factory inspectors was expanded to enforce the law. Subsequent acts have extended this policy to all employments to the immense advantage of the working classes.

12. The Great Exhibition (1851).—By the middle of the nineteenth century England had asserted her position as the greatest manufacturing country in the world. Her industries, her factory legislation, her railways and other means of transport, set the type to which every industrial community must conform. The repeal of the Corn Laws had not as yet brought the ruin to the agricultural interest which the opponents of the repeal had predicted, and the farmer shared in the general prosperity created by cheaper food and consequently lower cost of production of other commodities. The great improvements in means of transport, in intercommunication, together with the vast increase in production caused by industrial inventions, diffused an unprecedented prosperity throughout the country. It was therefore only fitting that

Great Britain should invite the nations of the world to a friendly rivalry in the arts of peace, and that the Great International Exhibition of 1851, held in London, should form the climax of a period of national progress due largely to the international exchange of commodities.

13. Fall of the Russell Ministry (1852).—Early in 1851 it had become clear that the Ministry could not last much longer. It was defeated on a financial question in the Commons, and only the refusal of the Peelite Conservatives¹ to work with the Protectionist Conservatives enabled Russell to retain power. A crisis was produced by Palmerston's action with reference to France. The spectre of communism had alarmed the French middle classes, and Louis Napoleon, nephew of the great emperor, took advantage of this to get himself elected President of the Republic (1848). In 1851, in defiance of his oath to the constitution, Napoleon carried out a *coup d'état*, and established a military despotism. His action was, however, ratified by a vote of the French people, and he became emperor, as Napoleon III.

Palmerston, without consulting the other ministers, expressed to the French ambassador in London his concurrence with Napoleon's action. Lord John Russell at once demanded an explanation of this indiscreet action, and, as his defence was unsatisfactory, Palmerston was dismissed. The Ministry did not long survive, and, mainly through Palmerston's action, the Government was defeated over a Militia Bill, and at once resigned.

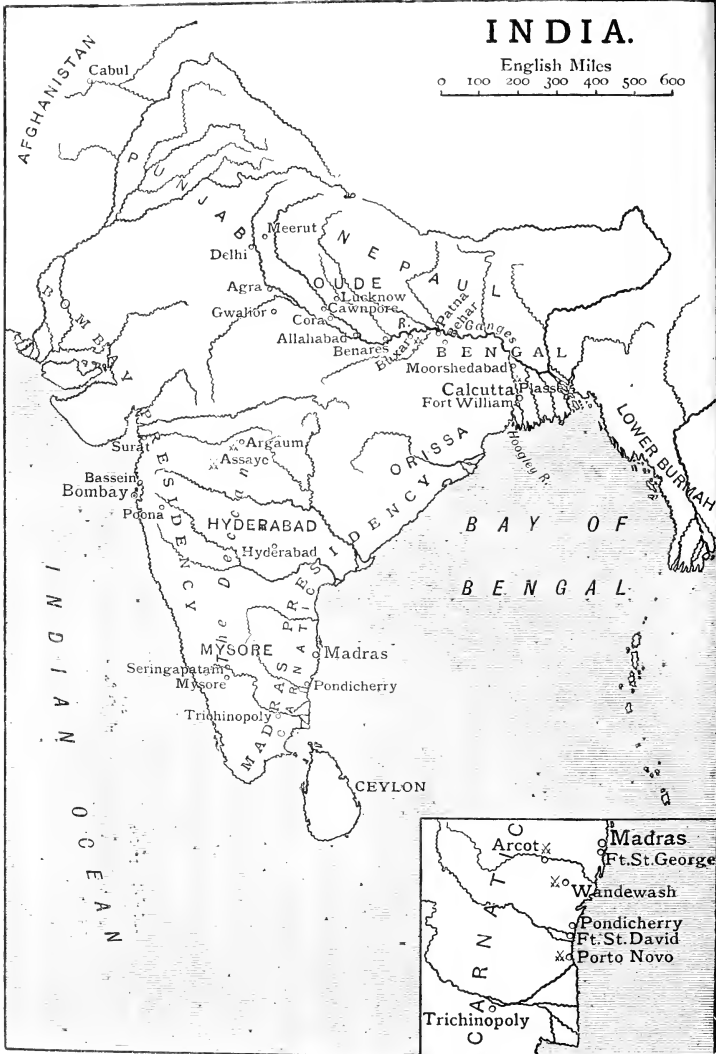
CHIEF EVENTS.

	A. D.
Chartist riots	1839.
Penny Post established.	1839.
First Afghan War	1838-1842.
First Chinese War	1839-1842.
Newman becomes a Catholic	1845.
Repeal of the Corn Laws	1846.
Restoration of the Catholic Hierarchy	1850.
Ecclesiastical Titles Bill	1851.
Great Exhibition	1851.

¹ Sir Robert Peel had died in 1850.

INDIA.

English Miles
0 100 200 300 400 500 600



CHAPTER XLVI.

VICTORIA (1837-1901).

(2) LORD DERBY, LORD ABERDEEN, AND LORD PALMERSTON
(1852-1865).

1. The Derby and Aberdeen Ministries (1852).—The Liberal Whig Ministry had been overthrown by a coalition between the Conservatives and a number of malcontent Whigs, led by Palmerston. But the Conservatives, since 1846, had split into two factions over the question of Protection, and the Protectionist Conservatives, led by Lord Derby (formerly Lord Stanley) and by Disraeli, were bitterly hostile to the Peelite Conservatives led by Lord Aberdeen and Gladstone. Thus both parties, Liberal and Conservative, were divided by internal animosities. Unfortunately, Sir Robert Peel had died, in 1850, after a fall from his horse, and the most commanding figure in the politics of the day had been removed.

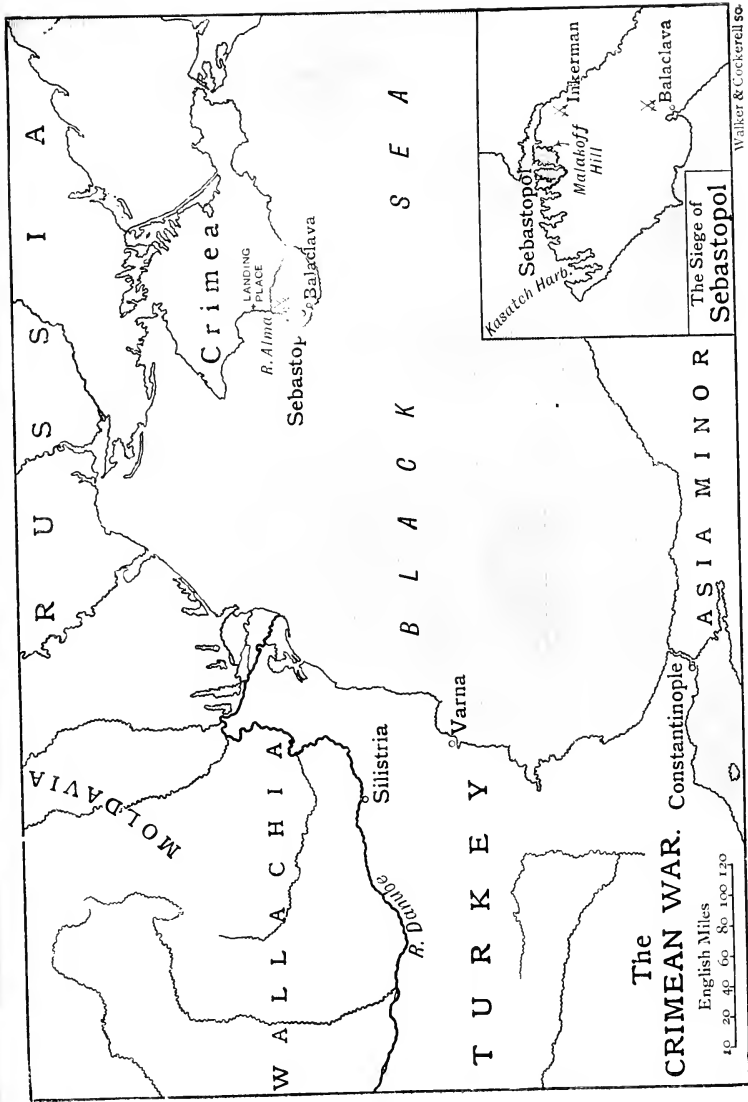
The new Ministry was composed of the Protectionist Conservatives, with Derby as premier and Disraeli as chancellor of the exchequer. But the Ministry did not dare to attack the Free Trade settlement of 1846, and was, in fact, compelled to accept a motion proposed by Villiers, affirming the principle of Free Trade. This did not, however, save it, for the Budget, prepared by Disraeli, was severely criticised by Gladstone, and on a division, the Government was defeated and at once resigned.

The Queen now sent for the Peelite, Lord Aberdeen, and

a junction was formed between the Peelites and the Whigs. Aberdeen became prime minister, Palmerston home secretary, Russell foreign secretary, and Gladstone chancellor of the exchequer. The Ministry contained a number of brilliant names, but the personal divergences of its leading members negatived the prospect of vigorous and united action.

2. The Outbreak of the Crimean War (1854).—Russian prestige in Eastern Europe had been strengthened after the battle of Navarino by Lord Goderich's desertion of Canning's policy, and the settlement of the question of Greek independence was therefore mainly due to the Tsar, Nicholas I. During the revolutionary crisis of 1848, Nicholas appeared as the champion of the rights of sovereigns, and by his armed intervention helped Austria to defeat the Hungarian rebels, and Turkey to put down a revolution in her vassal dependencies, Moldavia and Wallachia. But neither England nor France could afford to see Russia all-powerful at Constantinople. When, therefore, Nicholas I. demanded that Turkey should recognise his protectorate over the Greek Christians in the Turkish dominions, and should guarantee the claims of the Greek Church with reference to the Holy places, the Sultan found himself supported in his refusal by England and France. Russian troops invaded Moldavia and Wallachia (1853), whereupon England and France signed a treaty with Turkey, and in 1854 declared war against Russia.

The Government of Lord Aberdeen had drifted into a war which might possibly have been avoided if the Tsar had been distinctly warned that an attack on Turkey would be treated as a *casus belli*. But the Cabinet was unfortunately weakened by dissensions, and in the end Palmerston and the party of action forced Aberdeen to declare war. The result was that England was unprepared for hostilities, and a prolonged and costly struggle followed, which might have been avoided by timely firmness, and certainly would have been shortened by adequate preparations.



The Siege of
Sebastopol

3. The Invasion of the Crimea (1854).—Even before the arrival of the Anglo-French armies at Varna, Turkey had proved herself strong enough to resist the attack of Russia. The Russian forces crossed the Danube and laid siege to Silistria ; but the siege was begun too late, and when Austria threatened armed intervention unless the Russian troops were withdrawn from the Danubian Principalities, the Tsar was compelled to yield. The Russian attack on Turkey had thus failed completely. Unfortunately the war spirit in England and France was now thoroughly roused, and demands were addressed to the Tsar, which he absolutely refused. The allied armies under Lord Raglan and St. Arnaud were ordered to make a descent on the Crimea with the object of capturing Sebastopol, the head-quarters of Russia's power in the Black Sea. In September the allies disembarked thirty miles north of Sebastopol, and a victory was won at Alma over the Russians under Menschikoff, who tried to stop the allies on their march south. The defeat inflicted on the Russians was severe, but the pursuit was not followed up, and Menschikoff was able to retreat behind the lines of Sebastopol. Four days later he led the bulk of his army into the interior of the Crimea, where he hoped to be reinforced by troops from the north. Meanwhile the allies marching round the harbour of Sebastopol, took up a position to the south of the town. The French occupied the western half of the allied lines, with the harbour of Kasatch at their extreme end, while the English held the position to the east with the harbour of Balaclava behind them.

4. The Siege of Sebastopol (1854-1855).—The campaign so far had been mismanaged. Lord Raglan, after the battle of Alma, had been eager to attack Sebastopol from the north, and if this had been attempted the town would probably have fallen. But he allowed himself to be overruled by St. Arnaud, and the flanking march, which placed the allies at the south of the town, was the result. A long and costly siege was therefore undertaken, because divided counsels had prevented vigorous action. Moreover, the Russians within Sebastopol, under the leadership of Korniloff and Todleben, had so greatly

strengthened the defences of the town, that a bombardment by land and sea proved unsuccessful. Menschikoff also had taken advantage of the delay to obtain reinforcements, and on October 25, 1854, he attacked the English position at Balaclava, which was weakly held by a small force, chiefly cavalry. The battle was made memorable by two astonishing exploits on the part of the British cavalry. Three hundred horsemen of the Heavy Brigade, led by General Scarlett, charged a body of Russian cavalry almost ten times their number, and after nearly cutting their way single-handed through the enemy, were able, when reinforced, to drive the Russians into flight. This feat was, however, eclipsed by the famous charge of the Light Brigade. Lord Lucan, who commanded the cavalry, misinterpreting the order of Lord Raglan to recover some guns captured by the Russians from the Turks, sent the Light Brigade, under Lord Cardigan, to attack a Russian battery situated at the end of a valley two miles long, on the slopes of which artillery and infantry were posted. The Light Brigade were thus sent into a veritable death-trap; but without a moment's hesitation the order was obeyed, and the heroic horsemen, after sweeping up to and even beyond the Russian battery, fought their way back to their original position. The sacrifice of men caused by the terrible mistake is seen in the fact that 247 were killed or wounded. But apart from these heroic deeds the battle of Balaclava was a failure, for the Russians retained the positions they had seized, and the arrival of reinforcements enabled Menschikoff to threaten to cut the fortified lines of the allies. Ten days after the fight at Balaclava, the Russians attacked the British position on the heights of Inkerman, but after a fierce hand-to-hand encounter, the British, supported by the French, repulsed the enemy.

The operations in the Crimea had now been in progress for over two months, and beyond demonstrating the splendid courage of the British troops, little had been done to achieve the object of the campaign. Divided counsels had paralysed the actions of the allies from the first, and neither Lord Raglan

nor Marshal Canrobert, the successor of St. Arnaud, had shown capacity for conducting operations on a large scale. At the battle of Alma, Raglan had only escaped capture through a blunder on the part of the enemy, and the repulse of the Russians at Inkerman was due more to the tenacity of the rank and file than to the tactics of the British and French generals. The advent of an unusually severe winter, and the partial breakdown of the commissariat arrangements, inflicted terrible hardships on the troops. By January, 1855, the British army had been reduced from 25,000 to 11,000. Over 8000 deaths had been caused by cholera or by exposure and insufficient food, and the rate of mortality in the military hospitals rose in some cases to 50 per cent. The sufferings of the troops were mainly due to the fact that the British War Office had contemplated, not a campaign, but a *coup de main* against Sebastopol, and, with the usual want of elasticity characteristic of bureaucratic methods, had failed completely to adapt its measures to the altered conditions. The result was that when the state of affairs in the Crimea was revealed by the newspapers, public indignation demanded the resignation of the prime minister, Lord Aberdeen, and of the secretary of war, the Duke of Newcastle. In January, 1855, Roebuck moved a resolution in the Commons for a Select Committee to inquire into the conduct of the war. The motion was carried by a large majority, and the Aberdeen Ministry resigned.

5. The End of the War (1855).—After in vain inviting Lord Derby and then Lord John Russell to form an administration, the Queen was forced to summon Lord Palmerston to supreme power, in spite of the deep distrust and dislike with which she regarded him. Palmerston, however, was designated by the country at large as the only statesmen capable of meeting the crisis, and the adhesion of Russell and his followers enabled the prime minister to form a strong and united Whig Ministry. The result was seen in vigorous measures to bring the war to a close, and in the improvements in commissariat, transport, and hospital arrangements at the front. A railway

was constructed from the harbour of Balaclava to the British lines, and the labours of Miss Florence Nightingale, supported by the home Government, reduced the mortality in the hospital to its normal rate.

Early in 1855 the allies, already strongly reinforced from England and France, were joined by a force of Sardinian troops sent by the able and ambitious Victor Emmanuel, who was anxious to assert the position of Sardinia as a European Power. In spite of these accessions of strength to the besiegers, Sebastopol showed no signs of surrender, and the defences constructed by Todleben seemed too strong to be taken by assault. In April a bombardment of the town produced no result, and the general assault on June 18 was repulsed. Shortly after this defeat Lord Raglan died, and was succeeded by General Simpson. Still, notwithstanding their repeated failures, the allied armies were slowly closing in on Sebastopol, and in September the French assaulted and captured Malakoff Hill, which commanded the Russian entrenchments. This rendered the fall of Sebastopol inevitable, and the Russian garrison therefore withdrew across the harbour, and the town was occupied by the allies (September 8).

Meanwhile negotiations had been in progress, and in March, 1856, the Peace of Paris was signed. By the treaty the Black Sea was declared neutral, and the warships of all nations were excluded from it. Russia agreed not to fortify Sebastopol, and Turkey made promises, which proved illusory, of better treatment for her Christian subjects. In 1870 Russia took advantage of the Franco-German War to repudiate those clauses of the Treaty of Paris, which prevented her from building fortresses and from keeping a war fleet on the Black Sea. The Liberal Ministry then in power was compelled to condone this breach of treaty obligations in return for a recognition by Russia of the principle of International Law, that the right to release a State from its obligations belongs to those States which are parties to the original treaty.

6. The Indian Mutiny (1857-1859).—In 1857 the British rule in India was threatened with overwhelming disaster.

Many causes had combined to spread discontent amongst the native population, and it was inevitable that the disaffection should be reflected amongst the Sepoys, who formed the bulk of the army. The spread of British rule had caused the disappearance of many native States and the overthrow of the ancient royal and aristocratic families, which for centuries had been the objects of native loyalty. Revolutionary changes had also been made in the system of land tenure, which had alienated the most influential classes in the country. Further, there is said to have been a general belief in a prophecy that the rule of the East Indian Company would cease one hundred years from the victory of Plassey, and the century had now been completed.

Matters were brought to a crisis by the widespread fear of the native troops that their religious beliefs and practices were threatened. Alterations had been made in the arming of the troops, and for the new Enfield rifle a special cartridge had been invented, which required to be greased. The rumour spread that the grease was made from the fat of hogs and cows, and as the Mahommedans were forbidden to touch the former, while the cow to the Hindoos was a sacred animal, the two largest religious sections of the Sepoys were thrown into a state of violent suspicion which the official denials were powerless to allay.

The Mutiny broke out in its first serious form at Meerut, the great military station, forty miles from Delhi, where the Sepoy troops, after killing a number of British officers and ladies, marched on Delhi and proclaimed as their leader the old King of Delhi, Bahadur Shah, a descendant of the Moguls. At Cawnpore the mutineers were headed by the infamous Nana Sahib; while at Lucknow, the capital of the recently annexed kingdom of Oude, the natives rallied round their ex-king. The movement rapidly spread to other military centres, and within a month the native regiments at forty stations were in rebellion. Everywhere the revolt was marked by the same hideous features, the indiscriminate murder of Europeans, men, women, and children, although happily there were not a few cases in

which Europeans owed their preservation to the fidelity of their native servants or to the protection of native landowners. On the whole the rebellion was a military one, from which the native population held aloof, and the mutiny was mainly confined to the district stretching from Upper Bengal to the Punjab—that is to the greater part of northern India. It was also, but to a less extent, felt in central India, and in many cases the forces of the native princes sooner or later joined the rebels. On the other hand, Hyderabad remained loyal under the Nizam's able minister, Salar Jung, and the native troops in the Bombay and Madras Presidencies were practically untouched. Lower Bengal, the Punjab and Nepaul, were free from revolt, and the fact that the disaffected centres were thus surrounded by loyal districts proved in the end highly advantageous to the Government.

For the moment, however, the prospects of British rule looked dark indeed. Delhi had fallen, and the British garrison and residents there had been massacred. Cawnpore, after holding out for a month, surrendered to Nana Sahib under a promise of a safe passage for the British to Allahabad; but the promise was immediately disregarded, and men, women, and children, were brutally butchered. Lucknow, with a small garrison, still held out under Sir Henry Lawrence, and after his death under General Inglis, against an enemy numbering 50,000.

Meanwhile Lord Canning, the Governor-General, had summoned all the available troops from the other Presidencies to form an army of relief for the besieged garrisons. The fort of Allahabad was the first to be relieved, and a force under General Havelock, after capturing Cawnpore, moved on to the relief of Lucknow, which was achieved after the heroic garrison had maintained itself for eighty-seven days. At the other extreme of the revolted districts the cause of British rule in India was upheld with equal success. The peaceful condition of the Punjab under the rule of Sir John Lawrence, the brother of Henry Lawrence, made it possible to send troops and siege-guns to reinforce the army under General Wilson, which was

attempting the capture of Delhi against overwhelming difficulties. Lawrence even ventured to throw himself on the loyalty of the Sikhs and to send from the Punjab all the British troops he had under the command of John Nicholson. This daring measure was justified by its success, both in the Punjab and at the front, and after desperate and prolonged fighting Delhi was captured (September, 1857). Shortly after Sir Colin Campbell arrived as commander-in-chief, with reinforcements from England, and a series of brilliant military movements on his part crushed the rebels outside Cawnpore and Lucknow. Early in 1858 an army from the Bombay Presidency, under Sir Hugh Rose, put down the rebellion in the Mahratta districts.

The Indian Mutiny ended the rule of the East India Company. In 1858 an Act was passed transferring the government of India to the Crown. A Proclamation was issued announcing the fact that two hundred million Indians had been placed under the direct rule of the Crown. As originally drafted it seemed to the Queen too harsh in tone, and through her intervention it was modified, and the right of her Indian subjects to follow their own religion was expressly recognised. "Firmly relying ourselves on the truth of Christianity, and acknowledging with gratitude the solace of religion, we disclaim alike the right and the desire to impose our convictions on any of our subjects."

7. The Fall of Palmerston's Ministry (1858).—The Indian Mutiny had not been the only cause of trouble in Asia at this period. In 1856 England was involved in the second Chinese War, and also in a quarrel with Persia, and Palmerston was bitterly attacked in Parliament by the Peelite and Derby Conservatives, as well as by the malcontent Whigs under Russell, who had quitted the Ministry in 1855. Matters came to a crisis in 1858, when Palmerston tried to pass the Conspiracy to Murder Bill, a measure caused by the recent attempt of a refugee, Orsini, to murder the Emperor Napoleon III. by means of an explosive bomb. Palmerston was accused of truckling to the French, and he resigned when the Bill was rejected. The Queen then sent for Lord Derby, who formed

an administration with Disraeli as chancellor of the exchequer. The new Government at once brought forward the Reform Bill to extend the franchise to the £10 householders in the counties, and also to holders of £10 a year in Government funds, £60 in the savings bank, university graduates, ministers of religion, doctors, and lawyers. These provisions were denounced by the Opposition as "fancy franchises," and the Government was defeated and resigned. After some hesitation the Queen was again compelled to call on Palmerston to form a Cabinet. In the new Ministry Gladstone became chancellor of the exchequer, and Russell secretary for foreign affairs. Gladstone thus finally severed his connection with the Conservatives.

8. Continental Politics (1859-1864).—The revival of the French Empire by Napoleon III. had been from the first a constant menace to the tranquillity of Europe. The emperor in his youth had associated himself with revolutionary societies of the most dangerous type, and he was never able to shake himself free from the fear of the vengeance of his early associates. Added to this, the *coup d'état* of 1851 had been achieved by treachery and bloodshed, and he knew well that he could only retain his position by brilliant military and diplomatic successes abroad, in which the French people might find compensation for the destruction of their liberties. For this purpose he had joined in the Crimean War, and had cemented the alliance with England by a visit to the Queen in 1855. The Queen's strong sense of justice would not allow her to condone the base measures by which he had obtained power, and although she yielded to the emperor's personal charm of manner, and established a friendly intercourse between the two Courts, she remained shrewdly suspicious of his ulterior designs. How little depth there was in the much lauded *entente cordiale* between the two countries was seen in 1858, when Napoleon allowed a body of French colonels to address him in language which directly threatened England, and the nation replied by the renewal of the great Volunteer movement of the early days of the century.

In 1859 Napoleon was drawn into a war with Austria on behalf of Sardinia. Victor Emmanuel and his able minister, Cavour, had dexterously raised the prestige of Sardinia, and gained the friendship of England and France, by intervening in the Crimean War, and they now took another step towards the creation of a united Italy by an alliance with France against Austria. A secret treaty was signed by which Lombardy and Venetia were to be annexed to Sardinia as the Kingdom of North Italy, and French support was to be rewarded by the cession of Savoy and Nice. In a short campaign the allies defeated the Austrians at Magenta and Solferino; but Napoleon, realising that a united Italy would be a danger to France, and would involve him in a quarrel with Pope Pius IX., suddenly withdrew from the war by the Peace of Villafranca (1859). By this Lombardy was to be ceded to Sardinia, but Venetia was to be retained by Austria.

Victor Emmanuel nominally accepted the terms, and could afford to give up for a time the hope of possessing Venetia, because in other directions his astute policy was successful. The rulers of Tuscany, Parma, and Modena, had been expelled by popular risings, and together with Bologna, a part of the States of the Church, were now administered by commissioners in the name of Sardinia. A European congress sanctioned their annexation to Sardinia, and, largely through the support of Lord Palmerston, the North Italian kingdom was founded. This was followed by a revolution fomented in Naples and Sicily by Garibaldi, which led to the deposition of the Bourbon king, Francis II., and the annexation of South Italy and Sicily to the northern kingdom. In 1861 Victor Emmanuel was proclaimed King of Italy "by the grace of God and the will of the nation." All Italy, except Rome and Venetia, now acknowledged his rule.

This triumph for the cause of Italian unity reacted on Germany, and stimulated the movement in favour of German unity, which had been checked in 1848. In 1861 William I. had become King of Prussia, and with the support of the great Prussian statesman, Bismarck, the policy was begun by which

Prussia was to become the dominant power in Germany. Under the guidance of Von Moltke and Von Roon the Prussian army was reorganised and armed with the latest modern weapons, and its efficiency was seen when Prussia, in alliance with Austria, forcibly ejected the authority of the King of Denmark from the duchies of Schleswig and Holstein (1864).

9. Internal Affairs (1861-1865).—In 1861 the death of the Prince Consort, at the early age of forty-two, inflicted on the Queen a loss which she mourned with the most poignant grief. There was, moreover, in her sorrow an element of bitterness caused by the knowledge that her belief in her husband's great qualities had not been shared altogether by her subjects. Possibly they had been too ready to suspect and resent the sympathy for German aspirations and German culture which the Prince undoubtedly showed. Certainly the Prince had been very cruelly and unreasonably attacked during the early days of the Crimean War, and the slanders against her beloved husband had wounded the Queen most deeply. There can be indeed no doubt that the Prince earnestly desired the welfare and power of his adopted country, and the last act of his life showed the political sagacity and the coolness of judgment with which he viewed affairs of State.

In 1861 the Southern States seceded from the Union, and set up the Confederate States of America. The secession was caused by dislike of the encroachments of the Federal authority on the autonomy of the individual States, and also by the question of the abolition of slavery. English sympathy was largely in favour of the Southern States, and this, together with the fact that the civil war led to the blockade of the southern coasts, which cut off the supply of the raw cotton necessary for the Lancashire mills, created a state of tension between England and the Federal Government. The North also complained that England violated her duties as a neutral by allowing vessels built and fitted out in her ports to be used as privateers by the Confederates. Matters were brought to a crisis in 1861, when a Federal cruiser stopped a British ship, the *Trent*, and seized two Confederate envoys who were on

board. The news of this roused the war feeling in England, and Lord Palmerston prepared to address a peremptory demand to the Federal Government. The Queen, at the Prince Consort's urgent suggestion, obtained a revision of the diplomatic note in a conciliatory sense which made it easy for the United States to give way. A war fraught with momentous consequences was thus happily averted by the calm foresight of the dying Prince. No greater service could have been rendered to the two great branches of the Anglo-Saxon race.

The four last years of Palmerston's Ministry were uneventful. Apart from the cotton famine caused by the American Civil War, which inflicted great suffering on the Lancashire artisans from 1861-1863, the period was one of internal prosperity. The brilliant financial genius of Gladstone placed the national revenue on a sound basis, and the commercial treaty with France, signed in 1860, stimulated international trade. Except, however, for measures of financial reform, no constitutional alterations were attempted. Lord Palmerston had no sympathy with democratic changes, and growing prosperity kept political questions in the background. The death of Lord Palmerston in 1865, after nearly sixty years spent in the public service, began a new stage in the constitutional development of the nation.

CHIEF EVENTS.

	A. D.
Outbreak of the Crimean War	1854.
Resignation of Lord Aberdeen	1855.
Fall of Sebastopol	1855.
Indian Mutiny	1857-58.
Death of the Prince Consort	1861.
Death of Lord Palmerston	1865.

CHAPTER XLVII.

VICTORIA (1837-1901).

(3) THE GROWTH OF IMPERIAL PATRIOTISM (1865-1901).

1. The Derby-Disraeli Ministry (1866-1868). — The position of prime minister on the death of Palmerston in 1865 was filled for eight months by Lord Russell; but the attempt of the Ministry to push through Parliament an ill-considered Reform Bill was defeated, and Russell resigned. In spite of the fact that the Liberals were in a majority in the Commons, Lord Derby undertook to form an administration with Disraeli as leader of the Commons and chancellor of the exchequer. The problem of Reform was not allowed to rest, and the threatening attitude of the unenfranchised classes forced Disraeli to take up the question. In 1867 he introduced a Reform Bill which lowered the property qualification for exercising the franchise, and as a check on democratic tendencies he revived the "fancy franchises" which he had proposed in 1858. These, however, he was compelled to drop, and the Bill, as it was passed, went even beyond Lord Russell's scheme in extending the franchise. Except the agricultural labourer, nearly every class was now given the right to vote.

The foreign policy of the Conservative Government aimed at the preservation of peace. The only measure of war was the successful punitive expedition against Abyssinia, which, under Sir Robert Napier, captured the capital, Magdala, and released the European prisoners whom King Theodore had seized (1868). On the Continent the year 1866 was marked by an

alteration of the balance of power in Germany. Prussia and Austria, as Bismarck intended, quarrelled over the settlement of the Schleswig-Holstein question, and war followed. The downfall of Austria was swift and decisive. In seven weeks the Austrian allies in Germany were crushed, Bohemia was invaded, and the Austrian army was defeated at Sadowa. By the Peace of Prague Austria withdrew from interference in Germany and Prussian predominance was recognised. Prussia annexed Hanover, Hesse-Cassel, Nassau, and other provinces, and a North German Confederation was formed under her presidency. Concurrently with Prussia, Victor Emmanuel had also attacked Austria, but had sustained reverses both by sea and land. Nevertheless, the benevolence of his ally, Prussia, obtained for the Italian king the cession of Venetia by Austria, which he had been unable to win by force of arms.

Of recent years Ireland had been in a disturbed state, and a secret organisation, the Fenian Brotherhood, planned a rebellion. The movement was a complete fiasco, but it concentrated the attention of English statesmen on the serious condition of Ireland. In 1868 Gladstone carried a motion in favour of the disestablishment of the Protestant Church of Ireland, and Disraeli, who had succeeded Lord Derby as prime minister in February, 1868, advised the queen to dissolve Parliament as soon as the business of the session was completed. At the election the Liberals obtained a majority of one hundred and seventeen.

2. Gladstone's Irish Policy (1869-1870).—Gladstone's first Ministry was rendered memorable by the carrying out of a legislative programme of great comprehensiveness. In 1869 the Act for the Disestablishment of the Irish Church was passed. The measure itself was altogether distasteful to the Queen, but, recognising that Gladstone had the support of the majority of the nation, she wisely surrendered her own predilections. Thus it was mainly through her personal intervention on behalf of the measure that the hostility of the House of Lords was disarmed, and a dangerous collision between the two branches of the Legislature was averted. By the Act the

Church of the Protestant minority in Ireland ceased to enjoy a privileged position, and part of its endowments, after providing for the life interests of existing incumbents and officials, was retained by the State as a fund to be employed for charitable purposes as the occasion arose.

Closely connected with Gladstone's Church policy was the Irish Land Act of 1870, by which the outgoing tenant of a farm was given the right to be compensated by the landlord for the value of the improvements he had made during his tenancy, provided that he was not ejected for non-payment of rent. To facilitate the creation of a system of peasant proprietorship, the Government was empowered to make loans to the tenants who, with the consent of their landlords, wished to buy their holdings. The Act was undoubtedly an encroachment on the strict legal rights of the landlords, but it was dictated by the needs of internal peace, and it was primarily aimed at the prevention of a dangerous agrarian agitation which might have proved ruinous to the landlord interest.

3. Educational Measures (1870-1871).—After dealing with Ireland, the Liberal party proceeded to carry through Parliament important measures with reference to Great Britain. In 1870 Forster's Elementary Education Act was passed, by which Board Schools were set up under the management of boards of managers elected by the ratepayers. The existing Voluntary Schools were recognised and subsidised by the State, and subjected to Government inspection, but a stringent "conscience clause" was enacted for the protection of the religious beliefs of those children who attended the school of a religious body to which they did not belong. In the Board Schools, by the "Cowper-Temple Clause" of the Act, it was ordered that the Bible should be taught, but without comment of a dogmatic character on the part of the teacher. The system of "undenominational teaching," as it is called, was thus established. Attendance at school was compulsory, and the cost of education was borne partly by the parents and partly by the State. In the case of the Voluntary Schools much of the expense was eventually thrown on the subscribers to

their maintenance, and a heavy burden was thus imposed on them, which in the case of Catholics was severely felt.

In 1871 another aspect of education was affected by the abolition of religious tests at the Universities. For the future, assent to the Thirty-nine Articles was not to be demanded of those who proceeded to degrees or obtained fellowships other than clerical at Oxford or Cambridge. Advantage of this concession was not taken by Catholics till 1895, when the Holy See authorised the presence of Catholics at the Universities on condition that suitable provision was made for safeguarding their religious convictions.

4. External Affairs (1870-1872).—In 1870 a cause of serious friction with the United States was removed by the Geneva Arbitration. During the Civil War ships had been built in English ports and sold to the Confederates. Several of these, the *Alabama* especially, had done great damage to the commerce of the Northern States, and after the war the United States demanded compensation. A long and dangerous controversy followed, which was ended by the points at issue being submitted to a Court of Arbitration sitting at Geneva. By the preliminary Treaty of Washington, Great Britain had virtually conceded the principles for which the United States contended, and it therefore only remained for the Court to assess the compensation. This was fixed at three million pounds (1872).

In 1870 the outbreak of the Franco-Prussian War was brought about by Bismarck's astute, but unscrupulous, management of a quarrel between France and Prussia on the subject of the candidature of a Prussian prince to the Spanish throne. The rule of Napoleon III. had been weakened by internal and external events, and Bismarck realised that no better opportunity could be expected for cementing the fabric of German unity than a successful war against France. The crisis was, therefore, manipulated so as to rouse the war party in Germany and France to the highest pitch of excitement, and Napoleon, against his will, was forced by popular pressure to declare war. The French armies, badly led and organised, were no match for the splendidly trained armies of Prussia, and, contrary to

French hopes, the Southern States of Germany, hostile to Prussia in 1866, now joined her against France. In a few weeks a series of crushing defeats led to the overthrow of the French Empire and the establishment of the French Republic. In January, 1871, William, King of Prussia, was proclaimed emperor and head of the new German Empire. The unity of Germany under the supremacy of Prussia, the lifelong aim of Bismarck and his colleagues, was thus achieved. After the fall of Paris the Peace of Frankfort was signed, by which France surrendered Alsace and the greater part of Lorraine, and paid a large war indemnity (1871).

5. The Fall of the Gladstone Ministry (1874).—Sweeping legislative changes continued throughout Gladstone's period of power. In 1871 the army was reorganised on the Short Service System, and the practice of purchasing commissions was abolished. In 1872 the Ballot Act was passed. This secured the secrecy of voting at elections, and thus tended to prevent undue influence by bribery or intimidation. By the Judicature Act of 1873 the ancient courts of law, which worked independently of one another, were united in one Supreme Court of Judicature, of which henceforth they formed divisions. A single Court of Appeal was also established.

The radical changes wrought by Gladstone's Ministry necessarily roused hostility amongst the classes which were injuriously affected by them, and outside their ranks there was a widespread feeling that the time for a pause had come. When, therefore, Parliament was dissolved in 1874, the Conservatives obtained a large majority, and the Gladstone Cabinet resigned. Disraeli became prime minister, with Lord Derby as foreign secretary, Sir Stafford Northcote chancellor of the exchequer, and Lord Salisbury secretary for India.

6. The Eastern Question (1875-1878).—The unpopularity of the late Government had been partly caused by the fact that in foreign affairs it had not pursued a policy likely to increase the prestige of Great Britain. The Conservatives accused the Liberals of combining a too marked adherence to the principle of non-intervention on the Continent with a

programme of domestic legislation which had harassed every interest and trade. Disraeli's Ministry therefore necessarily aimed at a spirited foreign policy and domestic legislation of an unambitious character. Disraeli himself was not like his rival, Gladstone, a statesman who delighted in dealing with intricate problems of constructive legislation; nor could he hope to emulate the Liberal chieftain's financial reforms, which in six years had reduced the National Debt by £26,000,000, and had lowered the income-tax to threepence in the pound. But he excelled in the arts of adroit party management, and he had succeeded in educating his party out of the obsolete tenets of aristocratic Toryism. With profound sagacity, he grasped the full meaning of the imperial position of Great Britain, and he never failed to keep before the country the high destiny which the consolidation of the British Empire implied. Hence in 1875 Disraeli seized the opportunity afforded by the insolvency of the Khedive of Egypt, to purchase from him a controlling influence over the Suez Canal, and in 1877 the British hold on India was emphasised by the Queen's assumption of the title of Empress of India.

In 1877 the outbreak of the Russo-Turkish War brought Great Britain to the brink of a war with the Tsar. The Russian attack on Turkey had as its pretext the outrageous treatment of Bulgarian Christians by the Turks. It would have been impossible for Great Britain to interfere against Russia had the latter confined herself to freeing the Christian populations in the Balkan district. But when the Russian armies, after a prolonged resistance on the part of the Turks, advanced on Constantinople, the British fleet was sent to the Dardanelles, and Great Britain prepared for war. Hostilities were prevented by the summons of a European Congress to Berlin, at which Great Britain was represented by Disraeli, now Earl of Beaconsfield, and by Lord Salisbury, who had succeeded Lord Derby as foreign secretary. By the Treaty of Berlin (1878) Servia, Roumania, and Montenegro, were declared independent, and Bulgaria was split into two autonomous divisions, the southern division being still under the nominal rule of Turkey. Russia

acquired territorial extensions in Asia Minor. At the same time, by a secret treaty with the Sultan, Great Britain guaranteed the integrity of Turkey's Asiatic dominions, and in return occupied the Island of Cyprus.

7. Afghanistan (1878-1880).—Russian policy had been checked in Europe, and by way of retaliation, Russian intrigues in Afghanistan were renewed. In 1878 Lord Lytton, Viceroy of India, demanded that the Ameer Sheer Ali should receive an English envoy at Cabul, and, on meeting with a refusal, sent an Anglo-Indian army to invade Afghanistan. The Ameer died shortly after, and the British Government set up his son Yakooob Khan. As soon as the British force withdrew, the inhabitants of Cabul murdered the envoy, Cavagnari, and in 1879 a second invasion became necessary. The Ameer was deposed, and Cabul was occupied by British troops under General Roberts. A rising of the fierce Afghan tribes followed, and General Burrows was defeated at Maiwand, and driven to take refuge at Candahar. Here he was besieged, but was rescued by the brilliant strategy of General Roberts, who in twenty-two days marched a relieving army of 10,000 men 318 miles through a hostile country, and not only raised the siege of Candahar, but routed the Afghan army outside the town. As soon as the rule of the new Ameer, Abdurrahman, was established, British troops withdrew from Afghanistan (1880).

8. The Zulu War (1878-1879).—The annexation of the Transvaal Republic in 1877 brought Great Britain into collision with a powerful native race the Zulus, and in 1879 war broke out. A British force under Lord Chelmsford invaded the country, but two battalions which were left at Isandlana were surprised by the enemy and destroyed. An invasion of Natal was fortunately prevented by the gallant defence of Rorke's Drift and Ekowe, and as Lord Chelmsford had been strongly reinforced, he was able to renew the march on the Zulu capital, Ulundi. The Zulu king, Cetchwayo, was defeated outside the native town, and British prestige was thus restored.

9. Gladstone's Return to Power (1880).—The failure of Lord Beaconsfield's Ministry in Afghanistan and South Africa proved fatal to its retention of power, and at the general elections of 1880 a Liberal majority of one hundred was returned to Parliament. This led to a reversal of Conservative policy at both centres of disturbance. As we have seen, Afghanistan was evacuated in 1880. In 1880 a rising of the Transvaal Boers took place, and a British force was disastrously defeated at Majuba Hill (1881). The British Government, after reinforcing the army in South Africa, refused to pursue a policy of revenge, and the independence of the Boers under the suzerainty of Great Britain was recognised.

In 1882 Great Britain was called on to intervene forcibly in Egypt. Since 1879 Great Britain and France had exercised a dual control over the Khedive's Government, without repudiating the nominal authority of the Sultan of Turkey. Foreign dictation provoked an outburst of national feeling, and in 1882 Arabi Pasha put himself at the head of the movement. The French Government refused to interfere, and as riots broke out in Alexandria, the British fleet destroyed the fortifications. A British army was landed, and Arabi was defeated at Tel-el-Kebir. Henceforward a practical protectorate has been exercised by Great Britain, and British statesmen justly hold that France, by refusing her help to maintain the dual control, has forfeited her influence in Egypt.

The occupation of Egypt led to a period of disaster in the Soudan. The hold of Egypt on the southern provinces, inhabited by fanatical Arab tribes, had been much weakened, and the rise of the Mahdi, a Mahommedan prophet, threatened it with extinction. A native army, under Hicks Pasha, was destroyed in 1883, and Gladstone thereupon decided to send General Gordon, a former ruler of the Soudan, to withdraw the Egyptian garrisons. It was hoped that the prestige of Gordon's name would have a pacific effect, but the hope proved illusory, and in 1885, after a prolonged resistance, Khartoum was captured and Gordon was killed. Too late an expedition under Lord Wolseley had been sent to the rescue. After

surmounting great difficulties the relieving force defeated the Mahdi at Abu-Klea, and came within striking distance of Khartoum only to learn that its heroic defender was dead. The army fell back, and for a time the Soudan was given over to the followers of the Mahdi.

10. Ireland.—Since 1876 the question of Home Rule had been pressed on Parliament with increasing insistence, and under the leadership of Parnell the obstructive tactics of the Irish members threatened to paralyse the action of the House of Commons. The general election of 1880 had greatly strengthened the Home Rule party in Ireland, and, in spite of a new Land Act in 1881, the activity of the Land League, founded in 1879, caused a bitter struggle between landlords and tenants. A Coercion Act was passed, and under its provisions Forster, the Irish chief secretary, imprisoned Parnell and a number of other Home Rule leaders in Kilmainham prison. The Nationalist members retorted by a “No-Rent Manifesto,” and the English Government dissolved the Land League as an “illegal and criminal association.” The failure of coercion to quiet the country forced Gladstone, in 1882, to reconsider his policy, and Forster resigned when Parnell and his associates were released on the understanding that their opposition to the Government would cease. The attempted reconciliation was terribly marred by the brutal murder of the new chief secretary, Lord Frederick Cavendish, by a body of desperate men, the “Invincibles,” and a fresh Coercion Act was passed.

11. The Home Rule Bill (1886).—In 1884 the Liberal party obtained the passing of a new Reform Bill, which gave the right to vote to the agricultural labourers, and under pressure from the House of Lords a Redistribution Bill was passed concurrently, reorganising the representation so as to equalise more nearly the electoral areas. In 1885 Gladstone's administration, which had suffered in prestige from its action in Ireland and Egypt, was defeated in the Commons, and resigned. Lord Salisbury then formed a Conservative Ministry.¹

¹ Lord Beaconsfield had died in 1881.

The result of the general election of 1885 was that the two parties were so evenly balanced that the Parnellite members held the key of the situation, and compelled Lord Salisbury to resign. Gladstone returned to power; but a large and most influential body of Liberals, including Lord Hartington, Mr. Goschen, Mr. Chamberlain, and Mr. John Bright, refused to accept the proposed concession of Home Rule to which the prime minister now pledged himself. In spite of their defection the Home Rule Bill of 1886 was introduced, but was defeated by a coalition of Conservatives and Liberals. At the general election the coalition of "Unionists" obtained a large majority, and Lord Salisbury again took office.

12. Lord Salisbury's Second Ministry (1886-1892).

—Throughout this period the Irish problem overshadowed every other question, and neither coercion nor measures of conciliation availed to stem the tide of disaffection. For England the most important event was the passing of the Local Government Act (1888), and the Free Education Act (1891). In foreign affairs the country was kept out of serious entanglements, and Lord Salisbury's rule was therefore marked by the maintenance of peace. In 1892 it again became necessary to consult the country by a general election, and Gladstone obtained an increase of his following. This enabled him, in alliance with the Irish Nationalists, to command a majority of forty, and Lord Salisbury therefore resigned.

13. The Home Rule Government (1892-1895).—

Gladstone's second Home Rule Bill was passed by the Commons after debates lasting eighty-two days, and after a drastic application of the "closure." It was rejected by an overwhelming majority of the Lords. The Government refused to resign, and proceeded to carry out some of the pledges which had been put forward before the elections in what was called the Newcastle Programme. Hence the Employers' Liability Act and the Parish Councils Act were passed. In 1894 Gladstone, at the age of eighty-four and after sixty-two years of strenuous public life, laid down the burdens of office, and Lord Rosebery became prime minister. The life of the

Ministry was, however, precarious, and in 1895 Lord Rosebery resigned after a defeat in the Commons. The Home Rule Liberals sustained a crushing defeat at the general elections, and the Unionists obtained a majority of one hundred and fifty-two.

14. Foreign Relations (1895-1898).—In 1886 the Liberal Unionists had refused to join the Conservative Ministry, but in 1895 a Coalition Ministry was formed under Lord Salisbury, and it included the Duke of Devonshire, Mr. Chamberlain, Mr. Goschen, as well as Mr. Arthur Balfour, Sir Michael Hicks-Beach, Lord George Hamilton, and other members of the Conservative party. Mr. Balfour became first lord of the treasury and leader of the House of Commons.

It was fortunate for the country that the decision of the nation between the competing political parties had been so unmistakable, for the series of foreign complications, which followed the advent of the Unionist Government, made a strong and united Ministry of primary importance. In 1895 the relations between Great Britain and the United States were endangered by the intervention of President Cleveland in the boundary dispute between this country and Venezuela, and an outburst of anti-British feeling in the United States was the result. American statesmen were, however, unwilling to proceed to extremes, and Lord Salisbury's conciliatory attitude made it possible to settle the dispute by arbitration. At the crisis of the Venezuelan question public opinion was violently excited by the news that Dr. Jameson had organised a raid from British territory into the Transvaal on behalf of the "Outlanders"—the name applied to British residents in the Transvaal who were excluded from the franchise. The German Emperor brought Germany and Great Britain to the verge of war by a telegram to President Kruger, couched in terms menacing to Great Britain.

In 1896 an Anglo-Egyptian expedition was sent to reconquer the Soudan from the Khalifa, as the successor to the Mahdi was called. Under the guidance of the Sirdar, Sir Herbert Kitchener, a prolonged series of military operations drove the Arabs out

of the conquered districts, and the successes culminated at the battle of Omdurman (1898), in which the Khalifa was defeated. Khartoum, where the heroic Gordon had laid down his life, once more became the capital of the Soudan. This achievement was the prelude to a dangerous Anglo-French crisis, for the Sirdar, on reaching Khartoum, found that a French force under Major Marchand had established itself at Fashoda, on the Nile above Khartoum, with the view of asserting French claims over the Nile valley. Fortunately the firm attitude of Lord Salisbury induced the French Government to withdraw Marchand's expedition, and war was averted. In 1899 the spheres of English and French influence in this part of Africa were settled by treaty, and France renounced all claims over the valley of the Upper Nile.

15. The Outbreak of the Boer War (1899).—The magnanimous treatment of the Boers by Great Britain in 1881 had been marred by the omission to settle clearly once for all the relations of the revived Transvaal Republic to the British Crown. The Transvaal was not restored to the position of independence it had held in 1877, for the suzerainty of Great Britain was asserted, but the exact meaning of the term and the rights which it gave to the suzerain were left undecided. About 1886 the discovery of valuable gold-fields in the Transvaal was followed by the influx of British settlers, and an industry of vast proportions was developed. The revenue of the Transvaal rose from £154,000 in 1886, to £4,000,000 in 1899. In spite of the fact that the mining population outnumbered the Boers, the Outlanders were denied the right to the franchise, and a series of galling restrictions was placed on them which hampered their industry and withheld from them the rights which Englishmen throughout the Empire regard as their birthright. It was inevitable that a collision should follow between the oligarchy at Pretoria, of which President Kruger was the guiding spirit, and the commercial interests, of which Johannesburg was the centre. The insane project of the Jameson raiders, though it obscured the issues, only deferred the day of settlement.

The appointment of Sir Alfred Milner as British Commissioner in South Africa, was followed by long and anxious attempts to find a peaceful solution of existing difficulties. But President Kruger, not unnaturally, saw in the Outlanders' demand for equality of electoral rights the prospect that the Boers would be absorbed by an alien majority, and declared that if he granted the franchise Boer independence would cease. Various proposals from one side or the other were discussed, but without result. On August 26, Mr. Chamberlain, the colonial secretary, warned the Boer Government that the patience of Great Britain was not inexhaustible, and on September 8, what was in substance a British ultimatum, was sent to Pretoria. On October 9, the Boer Government replied by a demand that the troops upon the borders of the Republic should be withdrawn, and that all reinforcements which had arrived, or were on the high seas, should be recalled. These demands Great Britain declined to discuss, and war broke out. The Orange Free State, with which Great Britain had no quarrel, at once threw in its lot with the Transvaal.

16. The Campaigns of 1899 and 1900.—The war opened disastrously for Great Britain. Natal was invaded, a British army under Sir George White was shut up in Ladysmith, and the garrisons of Kimberley and Mafeking were besieged. Lord Methuen, after a victory at Modder River, was checked in his advance on Kimberley at Magersfontein, while in the same week General Gatacre in the north of Cape Colony was defeated at Stormberg. Meanwhile General Buller, the commander-in-chief, had been massing his troops south of the Tugela River to advance to the relief of Ladysmith. On December 15 the disastrous battle of Colenso was fought, and General Buller, losing hope, sent a heliographic message to Sir George White authorising his surrender. The beleaguered general refused to consider the proposal.

In one week three defeats, Magersfontein, Stormberg, Colenso, had been inflicted on British arms, but the spirit of the nation rose to grapple with disaster. Two days after Colenso, the Government decided to send Lord Roberts to

take over the supreme command, with Lord Kitchener as his chief of staff. Reinforcements on a large scale were got ready for service at the front, and while Yeomanry and Volunteers were enrolled, the offers of further contingents from the colonies were accepted.

Early in February, 1900, the plans of Lord Roberts were ready, and the whole aspect of the war was changed by the series of blows struck in rapid succession at the hitherto successful enemy. On February 12, General French with 5000 cavalry started for the relief of Kimberley, and sweeping round the left flank of the Boer army posted under General Cronje at Magersfontein, drove off the besiegers of Kimberley on February 15. Meanwhile the main British army under Lord Roberts had moved forward to outflank Cronje and cut his communications with Bloemfontein. On February 15, Cronje, realising his danger, broke up his camp and pushed eastward, hotly pursued by British mounted infantry. Across the enemy's line of retreat lay the Modder River, and two out of the three available fords or "drifts" were seized by the mounted infantry. Cronje's last chance of escape vanished when 2000 cavalry under General French, after a splendid march from Kimberley, occupied the third ford, Wolveskraal Drift. The Boers were now surrounded at Paardeberg, and Cronje, after successfully repelling an attempt to drive him from his intrenchments, and sustaining a bombardment which lasted a week, surrendered with 4000 men (February 27). On March 13 Lord Roberts entered Bloemfontein, the capital of the Orange Free State.

A month had now elapsed since Lord Roberts had sent General French to the relief of Kimberley, and in all directions the flood of disaster had been stemmed. The long-drawn agony of the siege of Ladysmith was over. General Buller, after a series of operations marked by one terrible mistake, the capture and abandonment of Spion Kop on January 23, succeeded at last in turning the Boer position, and Ladysmith was relieved. The siege had lasted 118 days, and the defence of the town by Sir George White and his gallant men is the

most memorable feature of the war. If Ladysmith had fallen a staggering blow would have been dealt to the British Empire, and those nations of the Continent who watched our reverses with unconcealed delight would have been emboldened to interfere.

On May 1, 1900, the advance of the army under Lord Roberts was resumed, and a month later Pretoria, the capital of the Transvaal, was occupied. Since the capture of Bloemfontein the British advance had been checked by the need of horses and by transport difficulties, and the Boers had taken advantage of this to harass and in some cases to inflict severe checks on detachments of British troops. But these were to a great extent inevitable in operations conducted in a country of such vast extent, and against a mobile and admirably courageous foe. In May, however, the brave defence of Mafeking by Colonel Baden-Powell and a small body of men, chiefly civilians, was concluded by the relief of the town. Throughout June and July Lord Roberts at Pretoria was intent on securing his lines of communication. Towards the end of July the enemy were driven away from the railway, which traverses the Orange Free State, and were forced to retire eastward towards the Natal border, and by August 6 over 4000 Boers had surrendered. The capture of Harri-smith, the terminus of the Natal railway system, enabled supplies to be forwarded from Durban. In August the British advance from Pretoria began, and the conquest of the eastern Transvaal culminated in the capture of the frontier town Komatiport (September 24). President Kruger fled to Lourenço Marques, and thence to Europe.

17. The Guerilla War (1901-1902).—The overthrow of the Boer armies, the capture of their capitals, and the proclamation of the annexation of the two Boer States did not end the war. The tenacity of the Boer spirit showed itself in the long and wearisome struggle which followed the return of Lord Roberts to England. Supreme command was given to Lord Kitchener, and under his direction the last and by no means the least troublesome stage of the war was concluded. The Boer

resistance was skilfully organised by Botha, De Wet, and Delarey, and the scattered operations taxed the patience and endurance of the army of occupation. In spite of the fact that the result was inevitable, the British troops had still to encounter reverses and much hard marching and fighting before the guerilla warfare died down, after lasting nearly eighteen months.

18. The Death of Queen Victoria (1901).—The concluding months of the Queen's reign had been darkened by the disasters in South Africa and by anxieties in the Far East. In 1900 an anti-foreign movement took place in China, and the foreign legations were besieged, and were only rescued by an international force after a gallant defence lasting several months. During the prolonged anxiety of the Boer War the Queen's faith in the ultimate success of British arms was never shaken, and throughout the struggle she was untiring in carrying out every measure to which her sympathies as a sovereign and a woman prompted her. But the strain of her manifold cares was beginning to tell on her, and early in 1901 her subjects throughout the world were thrown into consternation by the news that her life was in danger. There had been times during her reign when her popularity had suffered, and this had been especially the case when, after the death of the Prince Consort, she retired as much as possible from the public gaze. The Queen naturally resented the criticisms of her subjects, who necessarily could know little of the overwhelming mass of routine duties which were laid upon her. But this diminution of popularity was due to misunderstandings which in time passed away, and the deep-seated affection and veneration with which she was regarded were shown beyond all possibility of misconception in 1887 and 1897, when she celebrated the fiftieth and sixtieth anniversaries of her accession. The tidings of her illness touched most deeply the hearts of her people, and on every quarter of the globe and upon all classes and races her death fell with the weight of a personal sorrow. To the Empire she had come to be the living symbol of its unity, and men felt that with her there had passed away a great source of patriotic inspiration.

CHIEF EVENTS.

	A.D.
Reform Bill	1867.
Disestablishment of the Irish Church	1869.
Irish Land Act	1870.
Elementary Education Act	1870.
Ballot Act	1872.
Treaty of Berlin	1878.
The Land League Agitation	1880-82.
British occupation of Egypt	1882.
Death of General Gordon	1885.
Gladstone adopts Home Rule	1886.
Reconquest of the Soudan completed	1898.
The Boer War begins	1899.
Death of Queen Victoria	1901.

CHAPTER XLVIII.

EDWARD VII. (1901-1910): *GEORGE V.* (1910-).

THE PROGRESS OF DEMOCRACY.

1. The Accession of Edward VII.—The death of the Queen was followed by the proclamation of his Majesty King Edward VII. The accession of the King brought with it no political changes. The Civil List was settled on generous terms, the chief opponent, from the Radical point of view, being Mr. John Burns: though many of the Irish members showed feelings of resentment, because the Government of Lord Salisbury could not see its way to alter the terms of the Declaration made by the Sovereign at the first opening of Parliament after his accession, which were insulting to the doctrines of the Catholic Church, accepted by thirteen millions of his Majesty's subjects.

A great external change began in the appearance that the Monarchy made before the people, greatly to their satisfaction. The King exercised less influence than did Queen Victoria over the measures adopted by his ministers, maintained as little correspondence with them as possible, but was genial in his intercourse with them, and ready to grant them personal interviews. He was punctuality itself, and no arrears of work ever accumulated. This was rendered the more easy from the fact that London became the headquarters of the Court.

2. The King's Influence in Favour of Peace.—The King's love of pageantry proved pleasing to the public, and the aspect of London became much more brilliant, through the continual entertainment of foreign monarchs and other

ceremonial functions of the Court. The King himself was a valuable factor in the maintenance of peace in Europe, through the friendly intercourse that took place during his reign, during the visits of the foreign sovereigns to his Court, and his own frequent journeys and personal interviews with them and their ministers in their own countries.

3. The End of the Boer War.—In 1900 a general election had ratified the policy of the Government, and Lord Salisbury remained at the head of affairs until July, 1902, when he retired from office, and Mr. Arthur Balfour became prime minister. Before the change took place the nation had the satisfaction of seeing the Boer War concluded. A struggle which had lasted two years and seven months, and had cost the Empire 20,000 lives, and 100,000 men disabled by wounds or disease, was at last ended by the Peace of Pretoria (May 31, 1902). It had been hoped that the peace would have been followed by the King's coronation, but his Majesty's dangerous illness on the eve of the date fixed for the ceremony caused its postponement. Happily the King's recovery after a serious surgical operation was rapid and complete, and on August 9, 1902, his Majesty and his Consort, Queen Alexandra, were crowned at Westminster Abbey in the presence of representatives from every portion of the Empire.

4. Alteration in the King's Title.—In 1901 a bill was passed by which the King's title was altered so as to include reference to the Colonies. His Majesty was therefore proclaimed "Edward VII. by the grace of God, King of the United Kingdom of Great Britain and Ireland, and of the British Dominions beyond the Seas, King, Defender of the Faith, Emperor of India." This addition set the seal of the nation's approval on the great development of national patriotism which marked the last quarter of the nineteenth century. In the early days the Colonies were regarded with little interest or affection, and some people thought that as soon as it suited the interests of the Colonies they would renounce their allegiance to the Mother Country. But the end of the century saw the spread of the conviction that

the Empire was wide enough and strong enough to hold together in common loyalty all the elements of which it was composed. The great self-governing communities, such as the Dominion of Canada, established in 1867, and the Commonwealth of Australia in 1901, have falsified the old saying of the eighteenth century that "colonies are like fruits which only cling until they are ripe." To these was added, in 1910, the Union of South Africa, under the Liberal ministry of Sir Henry Campbell-Bannerman.

5. Foreign Friendships and Alliances: Ireland.—In 1902 the first alliance with an Oriental power was concluded with Japan.

The King, who had visited Pius IX. on three occasions when Prince of Wales, was received in audience by Leo XIII., the first visit of the kind paid by an English king since the time of King Alfred. The visit paid in the same year to the French President, M. Loubet, and the magnificent reception of the latter in London, led to the arrangement with France that was made on April 8th between M. Delcassé and Lord Lansdowne, known as the "Entente Cordiale," which overcame by its terms many difficulties that had for years caused irritation between the two countries, and was fraught with remarkable consequences as regards the future of the European balance of power. England, France, and Russia became the counterpoise to the weight of Germany, Austria, and Italy in European international politics.

The King visited Ireland in 1903, 1904, and 1907, and a far-reaching measure, the Land Purchase Act of 1903, did more than innumerable coercion acts had done to bring about peace and satisfaction throughout that country.

6. New Political Questions.—The political questions that were now rising above the horizon may be summed up under the following heads: (1) the system of national education; (2) the contest between the advocates of Tariff Reform and Free Trade; (3) the Imperial question, namely the constitutional relations of the Colonies to the Mother Country; (4) the reform and extension of the Army and Navy; (5) the

relations between the two Houses of Parliament; and (6) the Home Rule question.

The Education question was solved, at least for a time, by Mr. Balfour's Act of 1902, throwing the whole of the current expenses of the elementary schools upon the rates and the taxes, making the County Councils and Borough Councils the local educational authorities, but allowing the managers of the voluntary schools, Anglican, Catholic, Wesleyan and Jewish, to appoint their own teachers and to regulate their own religious teaching, on condition that they provided the sites and buildings for their schools, which in the other cases were provided at the expense of the rates, by the local authorities.

7. General Election: Liberals in Power. — In December, 1905, Mr. Balfour's ministry, torn by internal dissensions between the supporters of Tariff Reform and of Free Trade, resigned. Sir Henry Campbell-Bannerman became Prime Minister, and the general election of 1906 gave an overwhelming majority to the Liberals. Among the new ministers, the more noteworthy were Mr. John Burns, now President of the Local Government Board, and Mr. Haldane, who became Secretary of State for War. The bestowal of self-government on South Africa and the admission of the Colonial Ministers to the confidential meetings of the Committee of Imperial Defence and their conferences in London, helped to consolidate the common interests of the whole Empire.

In April, 1908, upon the resignation of Sir Henry Campbell-Bannerman through ill-health—he died shortly afterwards—the King, then in Biarritz, sent for Mr. Asquith, who, upon his return, formed a ministry without the King's assistance. In this ministry, Mr. Lloyd George as Chancellor of the Exchequer, and Mr. Winston Churchill as First Lord of the Admiralty, became conspicuous figures.

8. Army Reform. — Mr. Haldane now attempted a drastic reform of the Army, reorganised the historical Militia under the name of the Special Reserve, and the Volunteers

under the name of the Territorial Force, giving County Associations under the presidency of the Lords Lieutenant a large share of control. The Navy was reorganised under Lord Fisher, the First Sea Lord; the weaker ships were weeded out, the small and distant squadrons were dispersed; speed, power and concentration were the qualities now most attended to, and large and powerful fleets were retained in home waters.

9. Conflict between Lords and Commons.—The conflict between the Houses of Lords and Commons did not become acute until the rejection of the Budget by the Lords in 1909. The Liberal party thought it was useless to continue in office while there was a permanent majority opposed to them in the House of Lords. The Budget had been passed in the House of Commons by 379 votes to 149, and was rejected by the House of Lords by 350 votes to 75. The King dissolved Parliament in December, 1909. The Government of Mr. Asquith was returned by a majority of 124, and in the King's speech at the opening of Parliament there occurred the following passage. "Proposals will be laid before you, with all convenient speed, to define the relations between the Houses of Parliament so as to secure the undivided authority of the House of Commons over finance, and its predominance in legislation. These measures, in the opinion of my advisers, should provide that the House [of Lords] should be so constituted and empowered as to exercise impartially in regard to proposed legislation the function of initiation and revision and subject to proper safeguards of delay." A Bill was introduced in April, 1910, to disable the Lords from rejecting or amending a money bill, "and which should provide that a Bill being passed by the Commons in three successive sessions, and being thrice rejected by the Lords shall become law in spite of the Lords' dissent."

10. Death of Edward VII.—Accession of George V.—Meanwhile King Edward died, after a very short illness, on May 6. A conference between the leaders of both parties failed to come to any compromise, and on November 28 the Parliament was dissolved by King George V., the only

surviving son of King Edward, whom he succeeded. The Government of Mr. Asquith was returned by a majority of 126, and on August 10, 1911, the Parliament Bill was passed. This cannot but have the most important consequences on future legislation, and will remain active until the promised reform of the House of Lords is carried into effect.

The outburst of grief at the death of King Edward was spontaneous and remarkable. The funeral through London was attended by the German Emperor, the Kings of Spain, Portugal, Norway, Denmark, Belgium, Greece, and Bulgaria, the heirs of Austria, Turkey, Servia and Montenegro, and was a wonderful demonstration of popular loyalty to the monarchy. King Edward had made himself beloved by the various classes of his subjects. His attitude towards religion was "gentle, good, and proper": he had travelled through all the Colonies. His consideration won the affection of those who served him: his varied human interests broke down the barriers of royal exclusiveness: he was interested in agriculture and in the stage: he gave frequent proofs of personal courage: he had a great love of sport, and hunting was his favourite amusement until middle life: he was the first sovereign who won the Derby. He passed with credit through the first reign that was subjected to the daily minute observation of the Press.

We cannot pass over the wonderful developments of physical science that have taken place during this reign: reference must be made to the almost universal use of motor traction, and to the changes brought about by wireless telegraphy, and aeroplanes and submarine vessels in the navy.

II. Conclusion.—His son George V. obtained the Civil List on almost the same terms as his father, and had the satisfaction of opening his Parliament and being crowned without having to recite the offensive Declaration. A form of words was devised which embodied the Sovereign's definite adherence to the Protestant religion, as established by law, without reflecting on the beliefs of his Catholic subjects.

The responsibilities of the King, Lords, and Commons are increased rather than diminished by the extension of

the interests of the Empire. Millions of our fellow-beings, scattered over the face of the earth, look to Great Britain for protection and guidance, and on her are laid the burdens of an Empire, the greatest that the world has ever known. But vastness of extent and splendour of material achievements are not the tests which justify and perpetuate world-wide dominion. The permanence of the British Empire, as a factor in moulding the future of mankind, depends on the wisdom and steadfastness with which Great Britain and her sons beyond the seas continue to uphold the principles of morality and justice, which are implanted in the heart and conscience of the human race.

CHIEF EVENTS.

	A. D.
Accession of Edward VII.	1901.
Alteration of the King's Title	1901.
Alliance between Japan and Great Britain	1902.
Peace of Pretoria	1902.
Coronation of King Edward VII.	August, 1902.
Resignation of Lord Salisbury : Mr. Balfour Prime Minister	1902.
Mr. Balfour's Education Act	1902.
Important Agreement between France and Great Britain	1904.
Resignation of Mr. Balfour : Sir H. Camp- bell-Bannerman Prime Minister	1905.
General Election : Great Liberal Majority	1906.
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